

Ross Dowson archives – *Vancouver and B.C. correspondence* – 1951

- 01_26 Letter to Comrade Court regretting delay in Weaver-Whitney debate article; the history of Comrade Mason
- 01_28 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: Barry Brent in Vancouver and CCF work – not a trial entry, but full participation of best comrades; no comment from BC on the Rose documents; minority attitudes resurfacing in the Toronto branch; their anti-Dowson bureaucracy campaign in Toronto and proposed support for Buck, not the CCF; no need for substituting mass psychiatry for political education; the strong support from George (Novack, SWP) for the majority; positive reports from the Trail comrade; Murray delayed in leaving Montreal
- 02_01 Letter to Bill (W.), Vancouver, re: sorry, unable to ship the Engels pamphlet, will hunt up some used copies for their class
- 02_02 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: tough situation in Montreal under the Padlock Law; closing up the Montreal branch; the Toronto Rose minority quits; building up our IWA caucus in BC; British comrade visiting; perspectives in the left-CCF (Socialist) Fellowship in BC
- 02_05 Letter to Dick (C.), re: BC contacts, the Vancouver branch, the CCF left wing repudiating the UN; the Ontario “Ginger group”
- 02_05B Letter to Bill (W.) Britannia Beach, re: the decline of the Stalinists there and in Trail (Mine-Mill); our role in the Trail AFL-TLC; our role in IWA in Vancouver; the CCF anti-war left in BC and Ontario
- 02_99 Undated letter found in Jan-Feb., to Reg Bullock, re: the CCF left in BC heading for a split? The Fellowship not a good arena for our recruitment; our long-term perspective of entry; the left’s anti-conscription resolution
- 03_05 Letter to Bill (W.), re: leading comrades meeting with SWP leader; the PC should have been informed of the public dissolution of the Vancouver branch (as in Toronto where the PC intervened); how we evaluate certain CCF left-wingers in BC; Toronto CCF work
- 03_07 Letter to Court, re: his enquiries on the scope of discipline against Rose (in Toronto); how it was handled by the N.C.; resources on the question of the nature of the Soviet state; the press on Yugoslavia and the Trotskyists; security around the Healy visit
- 03_26 Letter to the Editor of the *Vancouver Sun*, re: their article on CCF order to Socialist Fellowship to disband; that it is Trotskyist; how the Coldwell CCF has barred the RWP from membership

- 03_26B Letter to Reg Bullock, re: refusal of Ontario Ginger Group to defend the BC Fellowship from expulsion at the Ontario convention; is it open to an approach by the RWP? We are prepared to absorb them, though many of them are centrists
- 03_28 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: Posing questions to N.C. members on minority bulletin publication rights under certain conditions, or not; on the CC changing their expulsion to suspension; and on whether to demand the minority recognize the authority of the convention?
- 04_02 Letter to the Secretary of the Vancouver Branch RWP, re: sending you a copy of the Control Commission report on the Toronto minority
- 04_10^{*} Letter to Reg Bullock, re: the danger that the Fellowship expelled will migrate to the SP of C; our need to pose the RWP as the obvious way (not simply staying in the CCF)
- 04_26 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: circulating a synopsis of the British comrades' work in the BLP; Reg's IWA article re-written; can we describe the CCF as 'social-democratic'? The majority decision to publish all that the Rose minority submits; answering the Rose minority; union openings in BC; the need to focus a left program for the upcoming CCF convention in BC
- 04_27 Letter to Dick (C.), re: the situation in the CCF left before the convention; the Victoria by-election, CCF work on the Island, NFLY (CP youth) activities
- 04_27B Letter to Bill (W.), Britannia Beach, re: further crisis in Stalinist unionism there and in Trail; our support for a course toward the mainstream of labor; the dropping Stalinist press sub base
- 05_04 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: BC personnel and the direction of the 17 expelled Fellowship left CCFers, perspective of CCF work being lifted by a new wave of struggles
- 05_17 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: RD and J-M Bédard looking over his discussion contributions; missing the May *LC* in order to move the HQ, a side-street bookstore
- 06_16 Letter to the Vancouver Branch, re: the critical importance of the West sending sufficient delegates to the 2nd RWP convention; fares and timelines by TCA, train, bus and hitch-hiking
- 06_19 Letter to Dick (C.), re: the urgent necessity he attend the convention; bus and hitching an option for youth

07_07 Letter to Bill (W.), re: BC attendance at the convention and the financial strain of paying airfare for him, but here is the money

07_25 Letter to Reg Bullock, re: the success of the (RWP 2nd) convention; the PC Resolution passed; post-convention activities; Murray and Barry leaving for BC

08_29 Letter to Lillian (W.), re: *LC* subscription accounting

11_02 Letter to the McDonnells (BC), re: expect the tour with Murray and Barry

11_28 Letter to Murray Dowson and Barry Brent (on tour to Vancouver), re: waiting for news of their meetings; fixing up the new HQ and stocking the bookstore; problems with CCF work in Trail; plans for a outside public meeting in Toronto; Meeting flyer Murray D. speaking on “The War Danger”

11_29 Letter to Murray, Barry, Reg (B.) and Bill (W?) on the role of the PC at the centre re: the current factional debate

12_03 Letter to Bill (W.) re: financial matters, subscription expiries

12_23 Letter to Bill (W.), re: the fund drive results; Joe Rose’s factional maneuvering with Bill’s letter’s contents

January 26, 1958

Dear Comrade Court;

Have entered the sub you sent along with the money order for 35.50. Have also sent to Bill's address the 10 copies of Whither Europe you asked for. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ By mistake I sent you 6 copies of Socialist Outlook. I only now noticed that you asked for copies of the youth paper. I am sure you can put the Outlooks to good use anyway. Will certainly send you copies of the youth paper just as soon as they arrive. We have a bundle on order

How are we making out with literature. You might speak to Alex. The bill outstanding is now fairly large and I am wondering if a payment cannot be made on it. It is not of course that we do not want to extend credit but we have a considerable sum of money tied up in stock now and as a matter of fact I would like to increase our stock. The customs are cracking down on us and I would not be surprised if the day is closer than we think when they will close us off. You probably know that Pioneer was closed off years ago long before the last war actually broke out. Yesterday I went down to clear some bound volumes of the F.I. and they held them for the RCMP to glance over despite the fact as I told them that the F.I. is being sold on the newsstands. I think they will let them come through but when I cleared the last order of books the fellow told me that they are holding up all kinds of communist (I suppose he meant Stalinist) material. So if you can manage to give us a payment we can build up our stock here even better.

Re the educational classes. We will certainly advertise them in the coming issue. You just missed the last. There is a question I would like you to raise however. Do you want the class advertised as being held at Whitney's home or do you want it advertised so that enquiries will be directed through the box which I understand you are on the verge of signing up. I am just wondering if you have thought much about it. I don't know whether Bill and Lil would like to have their address circulated around as the seat of Trotskyism is in Vancouver or even if they don't mind whether it is desirable. I am not suggesting that we should bury ourselves of course but it might create considerable personal difficulties for Bill and Lil with their neighbours and personal friends....needless ones. I myself would suggest we put the add in with full details and then direct anyone interested to write in for further details to the box. Anyone really interested that we might strike up would write a letter just as soon as he would walk into a house owned by someone he doesn't know at all. Let me know your decision and we will follow it to the letter.

Very sorry that we did not receive the article on the Weaver-Whitney debate for this last issue. I suppose everyone considers now that it is too late to publish it. I hope the authors don't think that it being kicked back was some kind of rejection. After this I am not going to send back anything even half as good. It was an excellent job and I am really sorry that we did not have it for the last issue. I only thought that the authors probably felt that it was wrong from them in order to meet the last deadline which they missed and would appreciate the opportunity to go over it at their leisure in time for the Mid-January issue. The only criticism I had was the small section on Webster's meaning of leadership or direction, or whatever it was. Normally I would have just taken advantage of the privileges of editors and dropped that little section. After this I am warning you all once we get our hands on anything from you comrades just try to get it back. We won't make this mistake twice. Do you perchance think it could go into the mid/February issue. If not in its present form in the form of a letter to the editor....we are in your hands.

I gather the comrades would like to know about this character Mason. I gather he is passing around the story about him having seen and talked with Trotsky in New York. That he was thrown out of the Stalinist party for Trotskyism and the Trotskyist party for Bakhunism

I am quite sure we are now about to talk about the same person...a Harry Mason who used to live in Toronto until the late thirties and who can easily be identified if asked if he knows Ed Aldis and used to live on Westmoreland St. Here is what Ed Aldis who is a member of the Toronto branch has to say about him. ...plus some comments by myself.

Of course he never saw or talked to Trotsky in New York as Trotsky never was in New York after he left for Petrograd in 1916 or was it 1917. Anyone who says this is a liar if only a well-intentioned liar. The above Harry Mason never was a member of the Stalinist movement unless he joined it after he had been well instructed just what it was. ~~and he was never a Trotskyist~~....nor was he ever a Trotskyist in the sense that he belonged to the official section of the ~~Fourth~~ Fourth International in this country. Comrade Aldis was prior to the war a member of the League of a Revolutionary Workers Party commonly known as the Field group. Comrade Cannon provides a picture of this group and its origins in the US in History of American Trotskyism. He tells me that he picked up Harry Mason when Mason was quite a young fellow and lived next door to him and took him down to the LRWP. Prior to this Mason had had no political experience of any kind, was quite raw aside from the fact that his father was a labor man. Mason joined the LRWP and was a member of that party until he went West some time before the war...maybe a year or two prior to the war. Following some activity in the B.C. unemployed movement Mason passed through Toronto just prior to the war and came direct to the LRWP which he still obviously considered himself a member of and must have had a consistent contact with. When the war came the LRWP just disappeared into nothingness. and it has never revived. Aldis is the only one of this group which once had about 70 or 80 members in Toronto alone that remains a revolutionist. Mason never was a member of the Workers Party and he was never expelled from the LRWP which had the label of Trotskyism flung at it for Bakuninism or anything else. Did he join the Stalinist movement during the war...this is highly doubtful and certainly would not be a feather in his cap after his association with the generally Trotskyist ~~and~~ (centrist) LRWP. You might ask him when he was a member of the Workers Party ~~which~~ which I know he wasn't or when he was a member of the Stalinist movement which he could only have been during and after the war years. Comrade Aldis remembers little of importance about his role in the LRWP aside from the fact that this Mason was once in some way responsible for LRWP funds and was found to be short of \$50. Nothing was done about it as it was obviously not thievery but irresponsibility. Comrade Aldis says that the Mason he knew whom he knows to carry the same name as your and is in Vancouver is a very glib, confident person, superficial but has the knack of passing himself off as someone of profundity, politically in the LRWP in disputes he was always able to adapt himself to both sides, in this sense unprincipled, not dishonest but irresponsible, with an element of general wackiness in him.

Does it sound like the same man---if it is it would obviously be best that we keep him off at arms length, not taking him into our confidence etc, work ~~with~~ with him but with extreme care. Of course this is a portrait of 12 years ago. Sometimes great transformations take place and sometimes they don't.

I am enclosing a copy of a ~~roughly~~ resolution on one of our CCF fraction presented to his club ~~in preparation for~~ for the coming Ontario CCF convention which I think might be of interest to our CCF-CCYM comrades. It would in my opinion be a good thing, redrafted in different language of course, for us to present to the Fellowship....a break from their sectarian approach as even reflected in the General Strike issue on the issue of war and how the fight should develop in Canada and in the CCF. Of course it is written on a low plain but this is just one of the basis of its power. It defends the Regina manifesto and plays upon the Canadian and long-time CCF opposition to conscription. I might tell you that when it was presented Joe Noseworthy, a member of that club and the CCF's pride and joy because he is the only CCF M.P. east of Manitoba stated that if this was the opinion of the CCF membership in his riding and he personally was prepared to take a person to person poll to test it why then he would immediately resign from his seat. In passing it was pointed out that this section 10 was just one of those parts of the manifesto that had to be dumped. We got five votes out of about 23 which is good considering the character of the club. We will probably be presenting it on Sunday to the Ginger group here in Toronto

we presented another resolution as I mention but we do not have a copy at hand. It might be advisable to get someone else than us suspected Trotskyists to present it although I doubt that that would be necessary out in B.C. where you have such a powerful leftist current and the KKK Fellowship to cover you.

Thanks for the information of the developments in the Fellowship about the Trotskyists in the BLP party and the possible tour someone may make. I hope to provide you with some information shortly.

comradely

Ross Dowson

January 28, 1951

Dear Reg,

Very happy to hear from you the other day. Would have replied ~~longer~~ long ago but you got shoved in behind George Clark's visit and the last issue of the paper....and yesterday I had to go out to do some sub renewal work and try and pick up a little dough.

I am glad to hear that Barry's stay is working out to the profit of all parties. I am sure that he will be a real inspiration to our younger comrades...possibly convince some of those wanderers of ours out there of the need to settle down in Vancouver and sink some roots. I am sure that the best place for him until the spring is out there—particularly now that the coalition is going on the rocks and it looks like an election will be taking place. I am looking forward to learning some real lessons in CCF work and nothing could be better than that Barry should be there while we are moving in as our on the spot ~~representative~~ ambassador. Any day now Ken MacAlpine will be adding in a contribution on the experiences that we had here in the recent election. In a matter of a few weeks we were able to integrate ourselves to the degree that would have taken ~~years~~ months and possibly years under normal processes. One of our comrades thorough working in a constituency club then into the Packinghouse PAC became a steward in his local and a member of the executive board. Through the constituency club the door has opened up for our leading a youth group along the line Eamon Parks ex MPP and Steel leader suggests of Marxism. Of course there is lots of work to be done but integration is the first stage

I see from the Tribune that local 1-217 didn't endorse the CCF municipal candidates—what gives, are we in that local at all. I note also that Bradley is running against Bury for council secretary. Are Whalen and Bradley taking an anti-political line in the local

You say that I will gather from your minutes that Van is sending trial forces into the CCF. I don't have any minutes but Barry mentioned this in a letter a while back. What is the situation with you Reg and some of the other leading comrades getting in at this time? It would seem to me that through some positive work in the election campaign whatever opposition there might be to our getting in on the part of the leadership would be considerably undercut. In my opinion in order to effectively and intelligently carry on our entrism orientation our leading and most able comrades have to get in. The work requires considerable skill, patience and experience. If we can get in in Vancouver, that is if you and other leading comrades can get in...it would seem to me that this coming period would be the time. If the ~~existing~~ clubs at present are rather shadowy we should be able to give them some substance. Even new clubs can be built. Out of our election work here and some progressive differences we detected in the local leadership of one riding campaign it looks like we will be in on the ground floor of the building of a proletarian club in a lower part of one of the constituencies. Got an invite myself to join the CCF from one of the leading activists of one of the best clubs here in Toronto. When I expressed some doubt as to my being accepted he gave high praise to Labor Challenge and to our election campaigns and assured me that there would be no difficulty. We are still waiting to hear what happens to my brother Hugh's application in Windsor. It should give us a good idea what the score is. I am not as sanguine as our CCFers is over my possibilities.

Very much interested in your remarks about the Toronto situation. ~~As an aside:~~ An aside: of course I agree with you that your personal intervention would not have assisted very much except at perhaps at one time. I was ~~and~~ and still quite surprised that not one of the leading comrades outside of Toronto so much as said a word in the internal bulletin when comrade Rose was filling them with that unparalleled crap, that not one took upon

himself to answer or even comment on the document presented to the convention by the minority which not only opposed an orientation towards CCF entry but stood in diametrical opposition to even an orientation to the CCF. However that is all so much water under the bridge now

I know with you and agree with you that there is not much sense of humour in the Toronto branch...rather an austere atmosphere but this doesn't come from any mass psychological character of this group of revolutionaries. Barry I and others have often talked about this problem. In my opinion the problem arises to a great degree from the peculiar situation that Toronto finds itself in. The Toronto branch has extremely heavy demands on it, many more demands than any branch in Canada or in the SWP. It is not just a branch that can live an ordinary branch life, but for Vancouver, it is the party. In a financial drive it has to raise half the money, everyone knows that willy nilly regardless of difficulties. In a sub drive the same holds true. So key is the Toronto branch at our present stage of development of the party that the comrades come even to look upon themselves as the party. It is hard for some comrades to see the PC which we have set up as the executive of the party as anything other than a group of Toronto comrades

I find your picture of a Toronto branch meeting very amusing but I must say not too accurate. I do not know the sources of the anecdotes and descriptions that were at your disposal but there is an anecdote that Lenin used to tell. In the distance looking up the street you see a figure going through the most incredible motions—you can only think that he is insane, a mad man...but as you get closer and closer you see that he is going about his business of sharpening a knife, maybe his gestures have some little flourishes, affectations but in the main he is going about his appointed task. Perhaps your observers were not sufficiently into the situation.

I note you say that Murray and Barry have to some extent revised their attitudes toward the internal difficulties of the Toronto Branch. To what extent they have and along what direction I am not really aware. I note you mention breasts being beaten and the inviolable principles of Bolshevism being draped across orators' shoulders. The last occasion I recall anyone raising objection to someone saying that something was not Bolshevik was Joe in a submission to the N.C. Of course as usual the thing was stood on its head. No one said the proposal was unbolshevik but all the motivations given to sustain it were. I was the person who said they were unbolshevik and I have had no reason to revise this characterization...to apologise for it has something picked up in haste. I said it fully conscious of all its implications...I think it apt. And I must say that we were fortunate in being able to arrange a PC meeting with Murray during the time he was here prior to going on to Montreal. This question was just being wound up then. At that meeting Murray with some vigor attacked the arguments advanced by Joe to sustain the proposal as UNBOLSHEVIK.

The document presented to the convention by the minority showed crystally clearly that an unprincipled combination that had arisen in the Toronto branch had taken a principled position, opposition to an orientation to the CCF. At the convention these comrades dropped this position. However I regret to say they have not yet at any rate taken up the position passed by the convention. Perhaps some may think it possible that my opinion is a prejudiced one however I understand that you and several other comrades will be going to Seattle on the 6th or so of February and you can ask George

Clarke whom I am sure has your complete confidence as the American comrade who knows more than anyone else the problems that confront our party. Following his report to the branch of the international rally we had an informal talk fest over coffee and buns which we are now able to serve in our new headquarters. B.S. whom you will perhaps recall was mentioned as the man behind the scenes with Comrade Rose very succinctly summed up the viewpoint of a group of comrades, an old group of comrades. Neither Jack and Mick when they arrived here for the convention appeared to be absolutely unfamiliar with the problems confronting the party. But all the Toronto comrades over discussions of a least

Now Jack and Dick when they arrived for the convention appeared to be quite unfamiliar with the problems confronting the party. But all the Toronto comrades over at least a year previous knew all the ins and outs. Suddenly at the convention these Toronto comrades tossed overboard their past position. Good. But on the night of January 14th six or seven months ~~later~~ after the convention we heard comrade B repeat all the old crap.

As I said before what Murray and Barry have revised in their attitude towards the internal difficulties here I do not know. I know this...when they left we all hoped that the various organizational compromises we made to this ex-minority, giving them more than full rep at the convention putting ~~me~~ their chief spokesman on the PC, giving them the Toronto branch executive all but one man, we ~~had~~ ^{would} everything ~~was~~ smoothed out. I know that our most sanguine expectations have not been fulfilled. There remains in the Toronto branch a grapp which displays strong anti-Bolshevik tendencies and strong resistance to carrying out our new orientation in all its meaning and significance. Deplorable but the fact.

*It would be bad if my opinion were
that the Toronto branch*

If you say your comments express the exasperations of the western comrades. Yes it is all very exasperating but we have the problem so we have to come to grips with it as best we can. You suggest that I might read your exposition to the branch. In my opinion this would not only be futile but it would mark a big step backward in the progress we have been making towards the solution of the problem. Your exposition thrusts the whole thing back into the realm of psychology, mass psychology at that. ~~As much truth as there is~~ in some of your observations for as you suggest there is some histrionics in the branch. When comrades know there is a difference on a big question which is not clearly expressed but shows itself in diverse ways whenever we talk about our work in this field there is a tendency ~~to make arguments~~ to try to point out differences where possibly none really exist, etc.

Three or four years back in events such a proposition in my opinion would have had great merit. As you know Comrade Rose commenced his campaign ~~against~~ in the branch executive. It wasn't long before the entire executive had been labelled by him as toadies and stooges of Dowson. Nobody knew what it was all about. We had many many heart to heart discussions, we all tried to practice what little we knew of psychiatry on one another. Then your contribution would have been valuable. This went on for a couple of years unknown to Barry Murray or anyone outside of the executive. Then it broke out onto the branch floor. "He still tried to handle the problem on the basis of your ~~psychiatric~~ exposition but to no avail. The whole to do was classically Abernethy with Dowsonism taking the place of Cannonism. It wasn't until the UE-IUE affair ~~that~~ ^{and} the 1949 federal elections when you will recall Rose wanted us to support Buck and not the CCF that it took on any political character. After about three years of attempting to meet this problem on the field of psychology (perhaps we were very inept at this) and to no avail I hailed its taking on a political character. As you know this was dropped then the CCF was taken up, it was dropped at the convention. Now of course there is the psychological problem of this group working together, of arguing out the differences and then trying not to let the heat carry over to the next or the next item on the agenda as you say. We have to meet this. It may even be that these comrades do not even have a political position. I mean by that that they may not really have one but have assumed one to justify themselves. have assumed various positions over a long period of time. I would gather from your remarks that you would tend to believe that. That may be so. BUT WHEN THERE IS A POLITICAL DIFFERENCE IN MY OPINION IT ~~is not a mistake to~~ would be a mistake to blur it over, hush it up, pretend it isn't there ~~it would be a mistake to~~ It would be a mistake in my opinion to step back from handling the political difference and try to place the whole problem on the plane of psychology.

There would be no merit in my opinion to substitute mass psychiatry for political education. After all we are together for political reasons, we are a political movement. Psychology enters the picture only in so far as it creates a proper atmosphere for intelligent political discussion. ~~From the mass psychological approach~~ From the mass psychological approach I fear it would only be a short step to the individual. Well we fixed that at the convention on Comrade Rose when the convention unanimously censured him.

Then again of course it might take another direction. You will recall that it started off as far as the party at large was concerned with ~~this~~ Comrade Rose proclaimed crisis in the Canadian party--that crisis was Ross Dowson. I for one don't want to tread over the old ground which I think your exposition would tend to lead us to do. ~~THOMAS~~ ~~ROSE~~ We have tendencies to do so in the Toronto branch....which I am attempting to bring a halt to. For instance a few meetings ago when I got up to ~~say~~ speak one of the comrades who happens by profession to be a psychologist announced that we were about to hear from Ross' ulcers. And here I am alas without even an ulcer to my name to justify myself.

To round these comments off I might say that I feel that some progress is being made in improving the situation in the Toronto branch. The convention with the adoption of the Political Resolution which of course took a diametrically opposite stand to the minority's position helped somewhat. George really ripped into these comrades at our little discussion on January 14. He set them back on their heels. We have also had some experiences as a branch which I believe have had a salutary effect. The meeting which these comrades thought was going to attract dozens and dozens of CCFers to listen to us tell them what was wrong with the Ontario election campaign, which we hired a hall for and layed out \$40 on was a miserable flop. I think these comrades are more and more learning that as an independent party we have no perspective, learning the hard way which is somewhat inconvenient but learning nonetheless. The big problem as we all know is the isolation of the party, the times we are living in. Cut off from any really fruitful activity it is inevitable that the party should turn in on itself and that comrades should seek the solution of the difficulties of the party in the conduct of this or that comrades or in the organizational procedures followed in the past etc. I think our foray into the CCF on a slightly increased pace during the recent elections has had a beneficial effect. Some of the comrades are getting their teeth into some work finding themselves faced with problems and wanting answers are too busy to bother with the old crap.

As we move more and more effectively into our CCF work I am confident that the whole situation will be completely transformed. A really fruitful experience in the CCF which it seems confronts us out ~~there~~ ~~in~~ B.C. ~~and~~ will do much to straighten up the situation here.

You ask about Steve. Here I am the bearer of good tidings. Steve's last letter was the best we have yet got from him. I am not referring to the previous one which we all rejoiced over...the report of the gaining of two new comrades. He has been floundering around a bit ever since we picked him up...he hasn't been able to orient himself to the Trail labor movement. In his letter where he gave us the terrific news of the two new recruits it was with tones of regret that he noted they wanted to stay in the Rossland CCF. But I now feel from his January 7th letter that he has really found himself.

He reports how he came to terms with our two new members; "First we base our activities within the Civic workers and concurrently spearheading out into the growing stream of "neutralist" tendency among the "hill" workers we come in contact with. The second line we advocate is orientation to the CCF via the Rossland club and the slow build-up of a broad left wing in this district and from this recruiting our cadres. This constitutes a very fundamental turn for us here Ross, in that we are ignoring the present Stalinist influenced left-wing and Stalinist periphery, in fact endeavouring to isolate them from the proposed left wing. We are building our own left wing from within the CCF and bringing them into the CCF, from our own local union and not from the petty bourgeoisified elements now so completely dominated by the Stalinists within Mine Mill. I use the term "petty bourgeoisified" in that they constitute the bulk of the Stalinist fronts here such as the Peace movement, Civil Rights Committee and the nebulous cultural front."

As for his talk about resigning he has asked me to tear up his letters on this. ~~It is such a complete activist that~~

as far as my case is concerned

With regards to the Trotsky school Reg we have not done anything and I am in doubt just what we can do for a while until we see how things straighten out here. Received a letter from Murray a few days ago suggesting that ~~henceforward~~ it may be best that he stay in ^{the} Montreal until the Spring. He appears to be having some trouble with his landlord re the selling of his furniture. He did not take a job up until now any way in the believe that they would be pulling out and now he is in financial difficulties. George appears to be of the opinion that a trip to and an extended stay in England and France would be a much better experience for me than the Trotsky school. I am intending to write to the south tonight to ask them about the school, dates etc. anyway but as far as my going you can see there are some complications and other propositions. There is also the problem of funds. I gather from Murray that you have some money that would meet your ~~expenses~~ expenses for the stay at the school. Unfortunately I haven't any terrific wife like you have and I do have about \$100 in debts right now which I haven't much prospect of meeting until I get work.

I have passed on your greetings to Dick. He is down here tonight getting out of the cold and the smallness of his room. He says that he will be writing you soon ---which should be very soon as he is still unemployed with lots of time on his hands. He seems to be standing up under the cold very well...right now it is about zero. That old rebel Stanton is in here to and has been mucking up this letter quite a bit with witty comments that pop out of him from time to time as he sits on our chesterfield deep in a book. They are on the verge of serving me a cup of hot chocolate so I had better close off ...well I guess I did pretty well at that eh---5 pages.

Will write about many other things I have on my mind first opportunity I get.

warmest regards

February 1, 1951

Vancouver
Dear Bill;

Glad to hear that the leass is turning out to be such a success. Must admit I was a trifle worried when I saw the topic of the ~~XXXX~~ class. Dont you think it is a trifle academic--Weaverish. Although I suppose that is just what may make it attractive to the CCYM leftists. Of course I appreciate that we can in the process of giving it redirect it , draw it out to conclusions today.

However that isn't the reason for this note. I am sorry to say that I cannot send you the desired copies of Origin of the Family. As soon as I got your note yesterday I rushed down to the Progress Books , ~~XXXX~~ They are just down the street a few blocks. They dont have one copy on hand....nor do we as we sold the last to Eve Smith. So there isn't a copy in the city of Toronto for sale.

Too bad we cannot meet this first request from our contacts. I placed an order with Progress but the fellow told me that it wouldn't be through for about a month. I can think of only one thing we can do here...that is to gather what copies there are around in the hands of comrades---copies that are not soiled or marked up....and send them out to you. My own copy is in AI condition except that it has my name in it. I have asked comrades to look at their copies and if they are in good shape to bring them down. I think we can expect a couple more. I will send them out just as soon as we can.

In the meantime you could go down to the Stalinist bookstore there and see how you can make out. They should have one or two. Dont place an order with them as they would order through Progress here.

Needless to say I cannot get what we dig up around here out to you by Saturday but they will be there in time for the next class.

comradely

Ross

Friday Feb 2, 1951 ✓

Vancouver

Dear Regi

Gald to hear that we are going to ~~XXXXXX~~ hear more more from you...all I hope is that I will find it possible to keep up my end. Now that Falserick is on the last stages dont forget to give me a call for any pictures that you might want. Hope you have it finished by late this spring because you are certainly going to have some visitors out there. Had a long talk with Murray and Grenier when they were in here as the control commission about Montreal and our work there. As you can appreciate what with the atmospher that goes with the Padlock Law we are in a devilish position to make any gains there. The working class movement as a whole is quiet and it is impossible under the conditions there for us to break outside of our own immediate circle. Well Murray and Grenier suggest we close up Montreal for the time being. Grenier may be shifted to the Ontario district anyway...but more of this in the let er I must get out to the N.C. Anyway Murray suggests that we take this whole question up at the convantion and he is prepared to quit his job(he has a car now) and take a tour across the country. As you can realize we wont have any too good a representation at the convention even if things turn out at their best and it would be profitable for us to make another tour. This time with a car we can hit ever-ything, not just our comrades, but consittant readers, stop and sell subs, hold the odd street corenr meeting etc. Take about three months doing the job. I have suggested to Barry that it would be a good idea if he went along with Murray and he is quite enthusiastic.... between the two of them they can do a real gang up job Barry is a top rate sub getter and is quite a good street-corner speaker. I can hold the fort here alright I think. So get that house into shape

But to get down to your letter so that I dont miss anything. Further detials as to the Rose and minority case will be forwarded in the circular letter. Tell the comrades not to be worried about the Toronto branch. Of course it would be foolish for me to pretend that this defection doesnt mean anything at all. But it doesn't mean much. These comrades have been ciphers in the branch for some months...as a matter of fact the minority comrades havenonly been in the branch for about 6 months and never ever were integrated into it. I dont know what history has in stroe for Rose...but after he half pulled out--one of the comrade said it was as if the party(meaning the oronto branch) had just had a good healthy shit. We are sm ller now and of course this makes as less favourable impression on contacts that come around but now at least we can intelligently discuss problems that are confronting the party. We will still hold up our and here OK.

As for Brent, the first act of the control commission was to order him back into the branch and everything is fine and dandy with regards to this. I dont feel that it set any precedent in anyway and everybody understand the sit ation alright.

Really impressed by the tape record job of the SWP convention.....am working on this trying to convince a friend that it would be a good thing for him to buy for himself for us. You get an idea how valuable it would be for us this coming spring.

Really impressive comrade this Dick Hogg. We must really put the heat on him to come in and get a job in Vancouver. At our stage we cannot afford to waste him ~~XXXXXX~~ away up in the camps. Did "osslund manage to get inot Vancouver following the new year. He wrote me he was expecting to get in sometime in the middle of January. In a recent letter I really put the heat on him to consider the matter of pulling out of Trail and into Vancouver. He is really developing in the last few mo ths....almist from letter to letter....but it is really too tough a row to hoe, being isolated like he is. There are all kinds of pressures on him and he is up to his neck in work which is a continual challenge to him. What an asset he would be to Vancouver or any other branch for that matter. As a matter of fact one of the

first items we will have to discuss at the convention is the matter of concentration. We will have to seriously come to grips about building the center. As things are in Toronto the most able comrades, upon whom a branch usually depends for its growth are tied up lock stock and barrel in routine work, the paper etc....and the branch cannot take proper advantage of the opportunities that confront it. As you know our last attempts ended in quite a failure. Well have to try again.

"I had to get the report on the IWA, been missing that good news for some while. I gather that Lloyd is generally leading the militants and there is not much field for us at this time to build up a caucus. But we are building up some very valuable prestige. As far as the shipyards are concerned I tend to agree with your evaluation that in the fight against the Stalinists "opportunism, rather than principle would be the dominant feature of this development. The aftermath of such a campaign presents the better opportunity for real work." Unless you are well up in the machine say like Lloyd and Tom were when things broke in the IWA, or were in a favourable position to effect policy we can't make anything out of the fight ~~between~~ between the Stalinists and the bureaucrats...at least not at the time. We are in a ticklish position under such circumstances because it inevitably develops under an atmosphere of red baiting...we don't have a particularly attractive line being as we are generally neutral, trying to work between them

Sorry to hear that you are into your old man for so much dough but I hope with my cursory knowledge of the situation that you can hold out for a while and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ keep in the IWA. After all you have terrific prestige and the other comrades need your skill and experience. The IWA is the key union out there and we have to have concentrations. The point you raise about war plant screenings is an important one...there have been six fellows fired here at the Avro plant in the past several months...and this time they are not going to hesitate because of some doubts. The screen is going to be really fine...I am sure that it would catch you in the shipyards....quite sure.

How did you like Barry's job on the General Strike problem. From reading the pages of the CCF News and allowing for a certain need to restraint it looks to me that the Fellowship will be getting the gang anyway. I see or rather hear that they have lit into the UN... that Coldwell holy of holies. I see also that a real differentiation must be taking place... Steeves being defeated overwhelmingly, our little job on Weaver and his prestige amongst the youth at Stanley Park. Charlie in a recent note to me ~~XXXXXX~~ was very enthusiastic about the possibilities there as with Court...and I must now add Bill in a short line about the persons who turned up at the class we are holding. The question of Trotskyism must be flying around there fast and thick from Camerons recent little out of the way attack on us in the CCF News and Weavers disavowal of us in the letter to the editor about the Stanley Park debate. What was it Lenin said about let the red-baiters rave...it only proves that we are the issue...and more and more workers are being educated in this idea. What with the British Fellowship they are being more and more involved with Trotskyism. Everyone knows that the Trotskyists are involved in Socialist Outlook and now Eve Smith from the reply she received has had it affirmed...along with all the persons who were at the meeting where she read the letter....the staunchest and most loyal and conscientious workers on the Fellowship.... Ha Ha We are hitting them three ways now. I think that the last issue with the item on the General Strike will show many of the rank and file that we are the persons who know what the score is..Weaver and company are running around like chickens with their heads cut off.

You might tear the following out of the letter and destroy it after reading..but the Fellowship visitor will be none other than Comrade Healy. We will have to put all the comrades on the alert so that they do not expose out hand...after all he will be the guest of the Fellowship, of Weaver and Smith. He will be on the mat enough as it is without them knowing that he is one of us. I have been corresponding with him about this matter for the last couple of months and should have told you sooner about it although I have the defence that it was all in the air. He was thinking of taking a holiday and the IS of course has been anxious for sometime that we should get the benefit of the BR experience so he thought of Canada. Up until a few weeks ago itn so far as the B.C. Fellowship was concerned it was up in the air. ~~XXXXXX~~ Comrade Healy posed the question with Olsen but Olsen it appears has been in Winnipeg and

was slow on the uptake. He was fairly definite in coming anyway when I told him that I thought I could commit the party to kicking in \$50 towards his expenses...now that this has come along it makes the trip all the more valuable. He will be coming over shortly after the World Congress, early in June. So you can see it will be profitable to the party from the point of view of learning about the Br entry and the World Congress and then too now from the point of view of directly ~~XXX~~ aiding us in our CCF fraction work. But we will really have to be careful in our relations with him. Since the comrades have an excellent idea about what it is all about it would be just as well to tell them all...then we can keep the whole thing under our hats. When asked by anyone as I think they will be of course they never heard of this guy and they know little or no more about the Trotskyists in the BLP than what Eve Smith told the Fellowship from the letter. "ont be far from the truth at this stage eh. Of course his contact with us in Vancouver will have to be on the quiet---he will probably have to put up with Eve Smith or one of the others.

Hope Alec and Court can get into the fellowship regardless of the Collingwood club maneuver. We really need them there...and I hope you can manage to keep their enthusiasms down to let us say a white heat. In a recent letter to me Court talked of some quick work and a rapid summation of our experience there. It seems to me that it is only really now opening up for us. I wouldn't be at all suprised if we are in for some suprises in the development of several persons that we long ago gave up. These people are having to think as they never had to before. Not that I hope here but I was shocked as no doubt MacInnis and others were to hear that Steve's said somewhere that we won't be able to get socialism by parliamentary means. The pressure is on against the sectarians too...they are getting quite a ribbing in the CCF NEWS for their lack of positive program. With Court and Alex there it shouldn't be too hard to make some strides against the sectarians. The British tell me that Eve Smith is sending is quite a number of subs for the Outlook....and it hasn't even the slightest appeal to sectrain tendencies ---as a matter of fact it is completely transitional much more than say Labor Challenge.

It will be good when we can get Alex and Court in the Fellowship so that we will be able to put forward our line on various questions...start the fight for a correct program. What do you think of the situation as to the ability of the Fellowship to remain in the CCF. May we not be in the position again shortly which we thought we might be several months ago...a Socialist Party of Canada appearing on the scene. According to Smith's report to Steve on the discussion on the general strike against use of the atom bomb there was considerable talk and feeling for going outside the ranks of the CCF with the idea...there was talk about the restricted avenue of work within the CCF and the possibility of reaching workers outside the party. This feeling coming together with the persecution atmosphere that appears to be building up again on the left may bring about a split or expulsion. There is so much pressure on Coldwell that it is quite possible that he will feel it necessary to give them the goon regardless of the effect that it will have on the party particularly the B.C. section. Never heard from you or Angus what you thought of my letter and arguments urging us to be prepared to fuz with this B.C. Left if it was expelled or walked out. Murray and Jean voiced agreement although I must say we did not go into it any further when it proved to be a false alarm. It might be well if we talked this matter ~~XXX~~ over so that we would have a clear conception of our tasks if such a development takes place. I suppose you have a copy of the letter on hand.

Good to see that the branch has so many contacts around it. I hesitate to bring this matter up since results would tend to disprove my argument but dont you think the topic for the class and the breakdown as pictured in the circular is somewhat sectrain. Of course a class on the state is an excellent idea but from the breakdown it would appear to never get out of the bounds of ancient history...of course I appreciate that the speaker would try to tie it up to present problems confronting the labor movement. But it would appear to me that the class is too basic and too far removed from the problem of the state as it confronts the modern radical worker...bourgeois democracy, reform or revolution, what is the Soviet Union, the buffer countries etc. What do you think?

It certainly will be a good thing if we can get our hands on the IWW library---if you get it I would ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ like to know what is in it ---particularly anything related to the Canadian labor movement.

Had to drop a line to Court + think it was, so I gave him all the dope on Mason. ~~HEXHEXHEX~~
I just so happens that we have the fellow who knows him better than anyone else in the Toronto branch. I gather he is what you called him, an egocentric punk, a braggard, but for all that generally a revolutionary who we should distrust but who nonetheless might prove useful in our work in the CCF

Re Food For Thought, haven't yet managed to get the missing copies that I asked for. So we did not review it but carried the general strike material which was much more timely anyway. I gather Steve hasn't got those missing copies. We have no contact with Olsen of any kind so if it is not too much difficult would you pick up Charlie's copies and send them on. Steve sends various stuff here, letters from Smith, circular letters to the Fellowship people and so forth...but I haven't had any word from him for about a month. However this is my fault...Didn't have a chance to answer two of his letters until yesterday and he has probably been waiting to hear from me.

Not planning to take up the Materials For Thought review in the next issue ~~XXX~~ We figure that the question of the UN is much more important at this juncture...particularly when you tell me that the recent Fellowship meeting blasted it as a capitalist agency calling for withdrawal of CCF support to it. Have you got the minutes of that meeting. Can really use them for this article...the exact resolution any material on the discussion etc. Haven't got any minutes sent the November ones you sent in. WOULD YOU AIRMAIL ANYTHING YOU CAN PICK UP ON THIS RIGHT AWAY.

Very anxious to get the IWA item. Have scheduled space for it. The dead line is LEAVE VANCOUVER AIRMAIL SUNDAY NIGHT FEBRUARY 11TH.

Would like to give you a picture of recent doings but will try to take up most of them in the N.C. letter and anyway I have to close off right away if I am going to do a job for a comrade that we have taken on. The Ontario Ginger Group CCF LEFT is putting out a brochure on foreign policy and one of our comrades has been asked if he will give the Marxist viewpoint on the question. There will be several other position included in the brochure. The comrade needs some real help on the project and I promised that I would have an outline for him tomorrow morning so we could talk it over expand on it together and let him fill it in. An opportunity we don't get every day and so we should grab as it will be widely distributed in the Ontario CCF, SO 00000000 long

comradely

Ross

February 5, 1951 ✓

(Chorton:) (B.C.)
Dear Comrade Dick;

Have been hoping to hear from you for some while now. I gather you have been receiving all the internal bulletins and papers that have been forwarded to the box. How did you like the last issue of Labor Challenge? From various comments I gather it was one of the better ones we have turned out. Sent out about 5 or 600 to CCF names and addresses we happen to have to see if we can pick up some subs. Should have a powerful appeal what with the anti-conscription letter and the article by Comrade Brent on the B.C. Socialist Outlook's advocacy of the General Strike slogan. a good bit of educational work.

What do you hear from the Outlook group. Were you able to make contact with the elements they reported in their minutes a few months ago that they said they have in the Vicotiria area?

Got a letter from comrade Byron the other day...the first in many months. Just as busy as ever spreading the good word. Sent in three subs from the Sooke, Bictoria area, apologized for being unable to give us a hand in the financial drive and tells me that they have a group of seven in the club now and have good perspectives of expanding. I gather they are still putting the heat on him. He says he is still in the CCF although he was just recently interviewed by a three man committee from Victoria who insisted that he stick by the Regina Manifesto...He says they were quite embarrassed when he asked them which part of the manifesto as some of our leaders say it will have to be brought up to-date. Hope you can manage to get out to chew the rag with him. You will find him very interesting and quite anxious to get help from you and give you any leads that he has in Victoria.

Are you in touch with Vancouver at all these days. I know the comrades are very busy there. They are running a class on the State and from the last letter from Bill it is attracting several of the CCYM left. Did Reg get in touch with you re the IWA convention in Victoria. I gather we are slowly making headway in the union and that through our pressure and the general situation the escalator clause will have come up for discussion and possible incorporation in the demands. I see our in again out again comrade Dick Hogg has been doing quite a job in his local and camp. He is taking 50 copies of the paper and pamphlets with him to camp. It appears that he managed to get his camp to go all-out for the sliding scale and after a long and bitter battle with the bureaucrats who tried to maneuver him off the floor of his local's annual convention managed to get the local on record as demanding the escalator clause in their own contract and recommending it to the District Convention. Reg is running for the post of Recording secretary and both he and Charlie are running for the post as delegates to the Labor council.

The B.C. CCF Left wing is really hopping these days... not long after their general strike escapade they passed a motion at the Vancouver group demanding that the CCF repudiate the United Nations as merely being an instrument of capitalism. Their last minutes report contact in Kamloops and several other points. From reading the pages of the CCF News I wouldn't be surprised if Coldwell under the pressure of his Ottawa friends moved in on them even took the risk of temporarily smashing the B.C. section. Under the pressure of international events some of the left are really developing..disatisfaction with being limited to work in the CCF is being expressed at the meetings. We may shortly be faced with the setting up of an independent left centrist movement in B.C. and with the advisability of carrying out a fusion with it to win over the best elements.

Here in the East the CCF is not offering us a near the opportunities. We pushed a resolution at one of the clubs against conscription but Joe Roseworthy, the CCF's pride and

joy down here as he is the lone CCF M.P. east of Winnipeg black-jacked the club in line with the threat that if this club and the membership in the riding signified their support of this resolution he would ~~immediately~~ resign....OH no not that Joe..please. But we got a vote of 5 against 20. Tried to put the same resolution through the so-called Left here called the Ginger Group. It was taken off the floor for representation by a resolutions committee which last Saturday welched on the whole thing...the farthest they would go was the old treacherous CCF slogan NO CONSCRIPTION OF MANPOWER WITHOUT CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH. We of course will present the original again to the coming Ginger Group meeting but there appears to be little hope that it will get support of any extent.

But we are all working away....Toronto also is carrying a class this month. Windsor took 50 copies of the last issue of the Fourth International—the one with the trade union biographies...and sold 44 copies to stewarts and activists in the UAW locals 195-200

Let's hear from youwhat you are doing what the possibilities under the circumstances are in Victoria, that city of patricians

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

February 5, 1951

Britannia Beach

Dear Comrade Bill;

Long time since we have heard from you. Hear that you managed to get inot Vancouver recently to see the boys but ¹ have still been hoping to hear from you oassionally. As a matter of fact I wonder if you would send me that report ¹ mailed you out a while back on the experience of Mine Mill in Port Colborne. I had ~~KAY~~ intended to use it in the article that we wrote for the last issue on the Stalinists in the unions.

How did you like that article. ~~XXXX~~ I hope that it will be of some use in and around Britannia. We should have carried it long ago but that is one of the big troubles with a four page monthly paper....there is always something coming up that forces delays and postponements. Then when you get it in space always prevents you from dealing with many aspects of the problem. I think we pretty well made the case that the Stalinists aren't militants in anyway whatsoever lathough today they may talk a good left line in the unions. ~~XXXXXX~~ but unfortunately we were not able to say anything ~~xx~~ much on the source of their policy, ~~XXXXXX~~ the real future ahead for them etc. For one thing while some militants are disoriented by the red baiting and the ultra reactionary role of the trade union bureaucrats and Stalinist credit tends to rise in their eyes it would in my opinion be false to think that the Stalinists are not really taking a beating. As a matter of fact in my opinion the Stalinists are through on this continent, the workers will not have to go through the grueling experience here that their European brothers have and are going through. They still have a popular following but it is perihpery, tailing along because the Stalinists are the manadted representatives of the Soviet bureaucracy, the representatives at this time of Mao Tse Tung, the Peoples Democracies of Europe etc. This gives them a foilowing, they can still pack halls with it but the party itself is not able to capitalize on this to any great extent....and wait till we see where Mao goes in the next period...this capital is of a high risk content. I notice that the nation convention held here in Toronto last week had only 100 accredited delegates....and you know how the Stalinists arrange such things as this. This is their own figure in the Tribune.

Can you use any extra copies of that issue in and around Britannia. If you will send addresses we will mail them out for you.

What's new in the Britannia local? Things are very quiet in Trail, still hard to say just what the score is there. The company recently granted a wage increase but tried to maneuver it so that Mine Mill got no credit. Burton supports a conversation he had with one of the LFP trade unionists there. This fellow openly voiced the opinion that he considered that the UE, Mine Mill and all the Stalinist-led unions were in for a terrific licking in the near future. I think there is little doubt that this is true. Our Montreal comrades report how a UE local was smashed there side by side a steel local which won a considerable wage increase. The UE just didn't have the machine, the money, its membership were no better or worse than the steel membership but the company was tough, their leadership's strategy wasn't any too good but this wasn't the big factor. They just couldn't hold out in the face of the boss' intransigence. Of course the UE defeat isn't just a defeat for the Stalinist machine but for the workers in that shop. Probably Steel or the IUE will move in easily now, their will be a period of passivity. But when the war costs start to pile on things will start to move...and through the IUE or Steel.

Burton doesn't know just what Steel is planning I gather but I am ~~PERSONAL~~ inclined to believe that they will commence their campaign again They know the odds are fairly good

there and that Trail is the door to the other locals.

I would be very much interested in getting a report from you of the situation there. Trail has asked me several times what gives in Britannia, I suppose it must come up quite often in his contact work with Mine Mill fellows there....and of course we need it to round out the picture of the situation in the Canadian labor movement...to ensure that the paper has a correct orientation etc.

Trail is the secon of an intensive organization drive under our leadership. We have managed to set up an AFL-TLC council of which we are the provisional leadership and great strides have been made in the organization of various categories of workers in the area. Haven't heard the latest on the municipal workers but we are fighting for an escalator clause. Don't know whether we were successful yet or not but we were instrumental in whipping up a campaign to commit the IWA district convention in Victoria to go out for an escalator clause. Our in-again-out-again comrade Dick Hogg had a tough struggle but finally managed to carry his campaign along this line at his local's annual convention. Hogg is taking regularly now I understand from Reg 50 copies of each issue of Labor Challenge to circulate around his and adjacent camps. Reg is running for recording secretary of his local and both he and Charlie are running as delegate to the Vancouver labor council. Haven't heard the results but it was only a matter of testing out our prestige and past work...we didn't expect to get in.

There are moves afoot in Windsor autoworker locals to build up a left caucus. Dissatisfaction is building up with the Reutherite George Burt machine. One of our comrades ordered 50 copies of the last issue of the Fourth International, the one with the biographies of Lewis, Reuther etc. He sold 44X's so far to activists, stewards etc. Three fellows came up to him at work asking if they could get a copy. Situation is slow here in Toronto. Made some moves towards building a caucus in packinhouse but it petered out...times are apparently not quite ripe.

Of course the big thing now is not the trade union movement which is pretty dead--- we have to wait awhile till the war coat start piling up and the workers start to move again. The big thing is the CCF left above all the left in B.C. Do you get the CCF NEWS Bill? The right wing is really out for blood and I wouldn't be surprised that Coldwell and his gang under the pressure of their Ottawa friends move in on the left even knowing that their actions will paralyze the movement for a considerable period. The Left is going left. Around the discussion of the general strike proposal there was considerable sentiment voiced to move outside the confines of the CCF...there was a feeling that the Fellowship shouldn't restrict itself to the CCF's confines. At its last meeting it passed a motion condemning that Coldwell holy of holies the UN as a mouthpiece and tool of capitalism. The same last report tells of new contact they have made in Kamloops and other points. Unfortunately two of the comrades working in the CCFM have been kept off at arms length from membership and so haven't been able to attend the Fellowship meetings. But Reg tells me they may get in on the inside shortly. Then we will be able to more effectively give it some direction although I feel we have been doing pretty good through distributions of Labor Challenge. The CCF left down here is not near so promising as in B.C. We have an effective fraction but the field is much smaller and more conservative. But we are hammering away. One of our comrades presented a resolution against conscription to the club of which he is a member. Joe Roseworthy the CCF's pride and joy as he is the only CCF MP. east of Winnipeg is a member of the same club and threatened the club that if it supported this motion that he would immediately resign his seat. Nonetheless we managed to get 5 votes against 20. Presented the same resolution to the Ginger group but they frightened to death of it switched it off the floor for reference to a resolutions committee. One of our comrades was on the committee and tells me that the ~~XXXXXXXX~~ were scared stiff of it and wanted to substitute the old CCF phoney NO CONSCRIPTION OF MEN WITHOUT CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH....so I guess we will have to present our old resolution to the next meeting to see how we make out on the vote.

I had better close this off if I expect to get this out tonight. But be sure and drop us a line on what is new and promising---comradely

Vancouver

Undated, found in Jan-Feb. 1951

Dear Reg:

Just a line before there are no more for about a week and half due to the paper work. Should have written you this long ago but I figured what has been done couldn't be undone.

Sorry to hear that we made something out of the Roseworthy to do. Haven't heard any repercussions yet but the information would lead straight to our comrade who was at the meeting that Roseworthy said it and was the cause of it through the presentation of that motion a copy of which I sent you. Of course every word of it is true but we are moving slow down here because we haven't any cover for ourselves...not at all like you...and we don't want to needlessly create friction. I suppose the resolution you drew up was a protest of some kind....a good idea when you have a real cover for yourself and when you are really trying to draw the line---show the as yet uninitiated what god-awful bastards the CCF leadership is. But for us if it boomerangs back here it places the battle onto a certain political-personal plane which we do not desire it to be.

I read the last minutes of the Fellowship with considerable interest, particularly Young's motion, that notice of motion re policy and principle of the group. What was the vote on this resolution---I see you say it was voted down. Did it get much support. This is a very important question ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~. Generally it seems to me that the Fellowship has conducted itself whether consciously or not on what amounts to a split perspective. There have been a whole series of incidents that show impatience with working within what are considered to be too narrow confines of the CCF. You will recall the letter that I wrote to the branch when it looked from here that it was possible that Young's proposal to set up a Socialist Party of Canada might go through...most of it took up the question of the advisability of our getting in with it though it was in contradiction to our general orientation to the CCF I figured if such a group came about it would clean the CCF of all leftists for a considerable period and the group itself having no real perspective due to the period above all that it was being created in would be a mighty source of recruitment for us. This motion in the Feb 4th minutes is a big switch back the other way. Sort of let's slow down, take it easy, give ourselves the perspective of socialist educational work, gathering together of forces which we will be able to swing into action when the CCF and the Canadian labor movement is not at such a low ebb of militancy. In general that is the perspective that I think we should have with regards to our CCF work.

Within our general orientation to the CCF there is of course lots of room to maneuver and I know that the situation is much more favourable for us to be more open and aggressive in B.C., but I am of the opinion that the notice of motion which you say was voted down ~~XXXXXX~~ conforms in a general way with what should be the perspective of the Fellowship in B.C. I am not here talking about whether in the given situation we should have voted for it, battled for it or not. I gather that both from Mosslund and Vancouver we did sharply attack it. In the context of the meeting that may well have been ~~XXXXXX~~ right. There is a lot in the motion that we don't go for. But generally in view of the ebb that we are going through, the limited field that the Fellowship offers us for recruits to our party at this time, its present content I would say that the task is to build as broad a socialist educational group as possible, on occasion drawing lines of policy through resolutions so that we can see what progress is being registered by our work, get new leads for contact work, but generally not provoking and disciplinary actions against the Fellowship.

John is coming in tonight---will send it our later.

Generally not committing ourselves to exposure through having to take stands which Trotskyists alone take in differentiation with general left wing stands taken by workers who are moving along towards the left, towards our position.

In other words I think this matter can be summed up---we should have a long term perspective with regards to our CCF work....we want to be there, and so we want the Fellowship to be there when the workers surge inot the CCF at the next turn of events. The Fellowship it seems to me has a short-term perspective...not a thought out one...many of the most prominent persons in it seem to be staggering drunkenly from this side to that...Weaver is a bit hysterical on the war question---the hysteria of sectarianism. Young's motives for the resolution no doubt flow from a MARK opportunist tendencies...I swa an exchange of correspondence between Smith and Cameron--Cameron would no doubt support the Young resolution also....probably Cameron is looking towards as seat in the next S.C. house.

While there is no element of political opportunism in our orientation I think the basis of their conclusions is generally the same as ours. That the tide is against the Fellowship really becoming a power in the next period...they went to ditch it.we want to preserve it for when the tide is going to run with it.

"to get back--I don't think that the Roseworthy resolution, despite the fact that I haven't seen it, was such an advisable action. The conscription resolution Battle presented to Stanley Park is a horse of a different color. Very anxious to know what reception it gets from the next Fellowship meeting, a completely political resolution which the opposition will have to deal with on a political plane or tend to discredit themselves.. But more it advances the conception of a transitional program a fighting program...a concept that the Fellowship badly needs to undermine the sectarian influence.

In the line with this problem of perspective and how we should work in the Fellowship I have written as you asked to KENNETH England for a copy of the letter to the Fellowship. Will send it on as soon as we get it.

⁶ Glad to hear that we have such a fine fraction in the CCF-CCYM. By the way Court is really coming along wonderful from the letters he sends in. Noticed the other day that Alex is vice-president of a CCYM club. And in passing are there two Charles Ross' in Vancouver? A Charles Ross' rough and tumble with his wife hit the pages of the Toronto papers the other day.

must read it to our Toronto branch.

Followed your report ~~XXXX~~ of the IWA situation with great enjoyment. Did you ~~XXXX~~ intend to have us carry anything in the coming issue. Should have written you long ago about this for the dead-line is here on the twelfth and you cannot possibly get this until the 10th at least. Wrote a letter to Bill a few days ago asking him to do a job in reply to the Weaver's letter. ~~XXXX~~ Have you been hearing anything on the res, onse of the various clubs to the document on Weaver's editorials and the report of the Fellowship. Could use it for this issue but no doubt it could keep for the next. Then is the B.C. CCF convention, perhaps we should do another job on it... If it is the next issue probably that stuff could hang over till then

Had a very good Hansen meeting here the other day---about 22 attended. I see you say that you are instructed no publicity. We of course didn't advertise him as there was the probability that he would be seized at the border---when I say advertise I mean in the paper. We sent a notice out to our select list with no name but playing up the fact that we had a special speaker. Then we got on the phone and told the more likely persons ~~again~~ that it was Trotsky's secretary.

Got a terrific bit of publicity in the Windsor press the other day--a sort of review of our last issue, mostly on Yugoslavia. Only have one copy and have received word Jean is coming in tonight--will send it our later.

March 5, 1951

Dear Bill;

Received your very welcome money order for \$45 this morning. I am sending the receipt along with a couple of others

Have checked into Morgan's sub and it is now alright.

I am glad that you received my letter prior to pulling out for Seattle. George was very much pleased with the discussion that you had while he was there and tells me in a short note that he was generally impressed that you all appear to have a good grasp of the new orientation and its varied problems. He was very sorry that you did not make the discussion that he had with Barry and Reg...as am I for George knows more about the problems confronting our movement than any other Amer. Yes I agree with your idea that Barry before writing on matters of that kind should consult with you and Reg—as a matter of fact in my opinion the three of you should have got to gether for a formal meeting and drawn up your various opinions so that they could be intelligently presented to the PC. For instance I have at hand the report of the meeting that you held on February 15th. There is nothing in this report dealing with any of the various differences that have cropped up amongst you with regards to the various problems in Vancouver. Of course I have an idea what has been developing through your two short notes and from a letter from Barry but even here I only am able to tell the PC what has taken place and the opinions of so and so and so and so on these developments—the PC is not being asked its opinion

Whenever possible I think the PC should be informed of important developments and plans, such as the public dissolution of the Vancouver branch before such an action is taken. I think the PC should know when there are differences of opinion between N.C. members on questions of some importance. Of course there are occasions when this type of consultation is not possible due to the time element. Possibly we might have a wide difference of opinion on what is important or not and worth consulting about...but here it would be better to err on the side of raising things that are not important than the other way around. I am sure that the PC will make a correct estimation

I don't know whether we have some differences in opinion here. I was of the opinion that the PC intervention in the Toronto branch re caucus's and voting was correct and am still of that opinion. I am of the opinion that the business of the branches is the business of the PC...that the PC is not a clearing house for information of things done but is the leadership of the party—and of course the party exists in its branches. How and to what degree the PC would intervene, that word should be in quotes, has to be determined by the PC itself. But it has to be in a position to do so through having all information of party doings in its hands.

Incidentally what is this about a characterization of Young which you say unless it is "properly understood, any difficulties can come in our way." You will have to elucidate sometime. I don't recall what my characterization of him was that you say you disagree with. Offhand I would say that Young is a man whom we are going to

have to work with and probably work closely with too. While you have to put on the appearance of trust in order to work with anyone and to a considerable degree actually have to trust him, I would not trust him very far, there is lots that I would never confide in him. In Britain in the first stages, and there things are much more developed so their first stages are a long way ahead of us, our comrades had to work with Fenner Brockway and you know his record. Compared to him Young is a sterling revolutionary. I don't think we should have any trouble here--the only thing I would be afraid of would be if some comrades thought it necessary to differentiate ourselves from him at this time...you know the old line--that the Young's are more dangerous than the Coldwells etc etc.

Glad to hear that you are hard at work preparing the periphery to get into the CCF. If we can convince many to move they will be an invaluable screen for us, a buffer, a defence against the right. It is quite possible that some of them once in the CCF as a favor for us will feel inspired to get to work again. In other words really come into our party-caucus. 15 to 20---that will be terrific...yes we certainly will have a force that gives us considerable basis for optimism.

Tomorrow night Bill we are holding a PC meeting and I will present your proposal that we should discuss and if possible come to some conclusions re the dissolution of the Vancouver branch--possibly the party.

I will also take up your suggestion that we ask Br for some details on their work. I don't know how feasible they will think this is. As you recall their last report that they sent us which actually contained nothing that I would say required such great security they asked us to destroy immediately upon its having been read. George when here suggested that I should try to get over there and stay there for a couple of months.

If MacAlpine doesn't come through with a report that he has been drawing up on the status of the Toronto branch re-the CCF in the next week or so I will get to work and draw one up. I know that this information would be valuable for you out there. There are several of us who do not have cards here aside from myself. MacAlpine's has been held up but I think it is on its way now. Our two friends from the south do not have cards. Dick hasn't one yet but will have one shortly. Of course I could not get one until we do away with the party officially ~~unofficially~~ publicly or otherwise. I think it is possible that I could get in here although of course we haven't decided whether I will stay here or not.

Just close this off for now. As I mentioned previously the PC meets tomorrow and there will be lots more to talk about and decide about.

warmest regards to you and Lil

Vancouver

March 7, 1951 ✓

Dear Court;

Sorry that I have been so long in replying to your February 1st letter and the enquiry about the "scope of the discipline of Comrade Rose." I gather from your comment ~~XXX~~ the branch "disproves of measures which go beyond the local jurisdiction" that you feel a trifle uneasy about the whole situation.

Within a week subject to the approval of the N.C. ~~XXX~~ a full report of the developments relating to Comrade Rose's case will be in your hands. I must say that I had delayed in answering your enquiries because I have been waiting for this report. I thought it best that the branch not have to rely on a report ~~XXX~~ from me and my versions of developments but that it have an official report. Well now the report is in the hands of the N.C. and I can assure you that it will be in the hands of the branch within a week or so.

With this I will let the whole matter of what happened and what was done rest. In so far as the handling of the case you can rest completely at ease. The national committee interceded in the situation and took the whole matter out of the hands of the Toronto branch. The national committee appointed a control commission of two old and experienced comrades whose loyalty to the party in its opinion is beyond question to investigate the situation and see what could be done to remedy it. The case and everything arising from it was handled from them from beginning to end. And of course as for decisions made they will be subject to the scrutiny of the national convention in the offing.

Glad to hear that we are making such progress with the CCYM-CCF work... I noticed from the CCF NEWS that "lex was an official in the Hillcrest club. Does the CCYM have representation to the CCF convention—is that the cause of the splitting up of the clubs? Down East here the CCYM has its own convention and if it has representation to the CCF convention it only has fraternal rep or representation on what it can win through the constituency club in its own area....most of at least a good many CCYMers have CCF membership. I hope this setting up of little clubs doesn't cut us off from the better elements in the CCYM at present and force too much simple organizational work upon us.

Glad you mentioned the question of an article on the idea of "Russian state capitalist"? I raised this with the comrades who serve as an editorial board somewhere back and they were of the opinion that in so far as our paper and its readers were concerned it was of rather an academic interest and in their opinion hardly worth the extensive amount of space it would require to develop the point. You should see how our comrades husband and pour over ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ every tiny bit of space in the paper. As far as the workers are at large, even CCF workers that we are in contact with and who may hold this position, the comrades don't think it is a really pressing and relatively speaking important question. This of course has nothing to do with the question of whether it is really an important problem amongst revolutionists by reason of its great implications with regards to our theory. As you know we do take up theoretical questions in the paper unlike the Militant but we try to take them up only in so far as they appear to have immediate pertinence in developing the knowledge and experience of a layer of our readers. I suppose such an article really belongs in a theoretical journal. You know that the matter is dealt with by the Old Man in Defence of Marxism and Revolution Betrayed. Quite a bit of space was devoted to this question in the resolution on the USSR and Stalinism passed by the 1948 World Congress. ~~MAXXXX~~ This latter resolution appeared in the June or July issue of the FI in 1948. Do you have this material available...if not I would be glad to send it to you. I might add that at the last plenum of the IEC of the Fourth a resolution was passed instructing the IS to prepare for circulation in the International a special bulletin answering the Johnson-Morest theory of state capitalism in the USSR. We should be long in receiving that

I hope that the above meets with your approval and that you can find all the answers you need in the material mentioned. I suppose you noticed that Comrade Murray Weiss took up some aspects of this problem in his report to the last SWP convention.... appearing in an internal bulletin we recently forwarded. Trotsky also deals with this theory a way back in 1933 in the pamphlet The Soviet Union and the Fourth International. This pamphlet is no doubt in the branch library.

I can appreciate the great difficulty that you have in reading what with the responsibilities at home, but to pick up the exact material that you want you need not take on the task of reading all the above mentioned material. I would be glad to glance through them again and mark up the exact pages.

Thanks for the little insight to your difficulties and responsibilities. Glad to hear that your wife is so tolerant and understanding of your work. A big problem in the party. Most comrades are not so blessed...not counting Lil and Bill, Ruth and Peg and other fortunate comrades who are in the party together. A lot of Toronto comrades have met the problem by being bachelors...a hardly completely satisfactory solution from my own experience.

Received the Father columns.....I have never read them before but I gathered from the stew that Tom McEwen gets into about the odd column that he must have some influence in working class circles. I will have to go through them next chance I get. I know he doesn't get the paper from the N.O. Did you ever think of sending him a copy whenever you think from his column that he might be receptive to some particular item in the paper? One of Windsor comrades sends us material from the Windsor Star...they carry much more material on Yugoslavia for instance than do the Toronto papers. The other day he sent in three or four columns that one of their writers worked up on Yugoslavia...all very reactionary but interesting. So just on a hunch I took a copy of the last issue—turned it inside out at the last installment of the Yugoslav articles and sent it a long to him. On March the first he devoted his whole column to the Trotskyists and Yugoslavia. I wished we had a copy we could send you. Really and excellent job. He attacks us and quite ruthlessly but all the time he quite honestly puts forward our position...mocking isn't it absurd. But of course I am convinced that any worker without this columnist's class viewpoint won't think that it is absurd at all but will think that we got a lot on the ball. The next day he wrote up one of our Left jabs...the one on the Stalinist youth paper The Champion. You might try this stunt someday on Father...when you get a special issue...but then again he might just pick it up anyway.

Sorry we can't give you much of a lead on the Toronto CCYM groups. We have been frozen out of the CCYM here. The provincial leadership disbanded the club that we were working in and trying to build with the connivance of most of the members and we are only working in the CCF. The CCYM is really dead in the Toronto area and believe it or not there is less of a witch hunt atmosphere against Trotskyists in the CCF than there is in it.

comradely

Ross.

With regards to your enquiry as to the Br Socialist Fellowship tour this summer. I figure the best way to allay curiosity and cut down the risk of exposure is to tell all. The comrade coming over will be Gerry Healy, one of our leading comrades. We are now making final arrangements. He of course will not be coming over as a Trotskyist or even an ex-Trotskyist. His contact with us will in some points be nil and in others most circumspect. It would be a real tragedy if it got known around that he is a Trotskyist and far from aiding us and the work of our Br comrades do us real harm. We will have to be even more than careful in B.C. where there is a real CCF left and where he will be in continual and close contact with suspicious elements such as Ben Smith etc.

with suspicious elements such as Eve Smith etc. I hope that we can cut out absolutely (11.?) (ed.)

said about this tour in CCF-CCYM circles you know it is quite difficult to keep a stright and ignorant face..pretend that we know no more about it than anyone in the Fellowship and far less than Eve Smith etc. Comrade Healy is particularly worried about this matter of security and wants me to assure him that this is really kept under everyone's hat...I think it might be best Court that on the basis of what your think that even some comrades know nothing about it...if we have a comrade or two who tend to gossip. We will have to work out this question of what contact he will have with the party, particularly in Vancouver where he will have to stay with someone like Eve Smith etc. I have put this item last in the letter as I would like you to tear it off after reading and destroy it.

March 26, 1951 ✓

The Editor of the Vancouver Sun;

The Wednesday March 21 SUN, just arrived here in Toronto, contains a report of the CCF national executive's 'disband or else' threat levelled against the B.C. CCF Socialist Fellowship. You credit Provincial President Grant MacNeil with charging "that agents of the Trotskyite Workers Revolutionary Party had been able to get hold of a detailed report of a closed CCF council meeting in Vancouver and publish full and confidential details in their newspaper." You report Mr. MacNeil as saying "they must have their agents there in the guise of CCF members."

Least important point we feel called upon to draw to your attention is that LABOR CHALLENGE is not the organ of some WRP of Winnipeg, as you report, but the organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party, Canadian section of the Fourth International, and is published from Toronto.

In the above quotes there is an obvious insinuation that the Fellowship is led by or composed of Trotskyists, members of the WRP. We categorically deny that the Fellowship has any such relations as implied by your report with the WRP...not that we desire to dissociate ourselves in any way with socialist workers in the CCF. In our opinion, this remark of MacNeil's is made as a smear to uphold the national executive's charge that the Fellowship is a dual movement to the CCF, justifying its prohibition.

It is true that LABOR CHALLENGE carried a report of a provincial council meeting where there were attacks levelled against the Fellowship and Dorothy Steeves for material she had written for CCF NEWS...facts that MacNeil does not bother to dispute. In the same issue we carried an extensive letter from George Weaver and in the past have published many contributions submitted by other prominent socialist members of the CCF. If the Coldwell "Liberals in a hurry" CCF leadership find anything to deplore in this they have only themselves to blame.

The CCF national leadership has been successful to-date in imposing a barrier prohibiting affiliation to the CCF of a revolutionary socialist grouping such as the WRP. In the past few years, trying to be more "respectable" than the Liberals as your columnist Barry Mather has had occasion to note, attempting to cut themselves off from the embarrassment of their anti-war Regina Manifesto past, the CCF leaders have turned on freedom of expression in the ranks. Unable to voice their opinions through what should be normal channels, the socialists have been compelled to find other vehicles of expression, LABOR CHALLENGE.

We find nothing reprehensible in our publication of their contributions nor in their requests that we publish them. Certainly there is nothing sinister in all this. It is solely in the interests of defending and extending the interests of the Canadian labor movement as we and these CCFers see it.

The CCF has become the broad expression of the political aspirations of the Canadian labor movement. If Mr Coldwell and MacInnis fail to answer labor's needs

it is the responsibility of all sections of the labor movement to check them and by whatever means that are at their disposal. If through the Coldwell leadership's efforts the CCF ceases to answer labor's needs then labor will look elsewhere.

Ross Dowson

Editor, Labor Challenge.

Return Steve

Steve - ?

Thanks for your airmailed clipping from the Vancouver Sun. Until this morning's paper there has been nothing here on these developments. As a matter of fact I have only now had a chance to sit down and pour over the Sun clipping as I turned it over the moment it came in to our CCF comrades ~~XXXX~~ upon whom we thrust the responsibility of trying to see what could be done at the Ontario convention in session over the Easter holidays.

This morning's paper carried a report that the B.C. leadership took up the call of the national leadership, capitulation or else expulsion. What is the situation within the Fellowship? I see by the minutes you enclosed that they had already called for a conference of all Fellowship supporters for last Saturday....and I gather from your report of the emergency meeting of our comrades that you think that the line of retreat is still open.

I hope you are able to keep in close touch with Rosslund. What he will do will be so much dependant on what takes place in Vancouver.

From your clipping and this mornings paper the demand is that the Fellowship be disbanded completely, not just modified in some way. Of course through some fancy arguing terms might be granted which could be accepted. The leadership has reestablished its public respectability and it needs the aid of the Fellowship ranks which ~~are~~ are actually the activist core of the CCF for the coming election and other routine CCF work. Of course disbandment of the Fellowship ~~is~~ its complete and utter disbandment would be absolutely unacceptable I am sure to the great majority of the Fellowship just reading from the minutes you sent and the motions they have passed. Even we with our very clear perspective and orientation to the CCF couldn't accept complete disbandment. ~~long term~~ long term

accept complete disbandment, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ long term

Such an action wouldn't be just a temporary concession but only could be looked upon as a route-----until a new and powerful upsurge developed...I don't see it for a while yet.

We are certainly at a turning point. If the Fellowship gets no terms from the provincial executive that are at all acceptable what do you think its course will be. It is taking stands so close to our position on key questions, and it must clearly see that we are the only tendency that is at all close to it politically that it would seem to me that we have terrific possibilities of taking it all over. If the group refuses to accept the demands of the provincial leadership and decides to maintain itself outside the CCF which would be quite logical it would seem to me to be quite in order for one of our comrades to move that immediate investigations be made of the RWP, its program and so forth. We have a nice caucus there and should be in a position to put the idea of inviting the RWP to put forward its position, or some similar idea over easily. Such a group as the Fellowship would constitute would certainly have no perspective and would immediately be confronted with the question of its orientation to our party. If we are unable to successfully swing it over towards us in a short period we would be immediately confronted with the task of smashing it as it would constitute a barrier in our path. We couldn't afford to leave our comrades on its inside without seriously crimping our possibilities of effectively confronting such a group with our existence.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ If the Fellowship is ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ unable to get acceptable terms or refuses to accept any kind of deal and launches off on the path of independent activity ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ fraction work in the CCF will have been brought to a close for a considerable period...at the same time we are confronted as a party with a real possibility of doubling quadrupling our strength by recruiting them direct to our party. What a ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ achievement that would be. We could well suffer being thrust into a centrist milieu for a period, going through a period of having a considerable number of centrists in our ranks, educating and eliminating etc.

If the question of the Fellowship ~~XXXX~~ appearing on the scene as an independent force confronts us in order to reach a fusion we can afford to be quite generous in order to bring them to us. While our core is small it is well knit and solid and we would have no cause I am sure to worry about our forces being weakened by the milieu of their operations. Our own line our own tasks are pretty clearly defined in the mind of our own forces and we would certainly come out intact with increased stature regardless of future struggles that might develop in such a centrist formation.

Of course we would have to have a very thorough discussion if and when we would be confronted with the possibility of a fusion of our forces and the Fellowships.

Glad to see that Hanson's meeting is coming off at this time and you will be able to have a thorough discussion with him. Hope his schedule leaves him room to stay over a bit so you can go into all the ramifications. When you write me all the details take a carbon for Rosslund. He will really depend on your picture of the situation to know just what his course should be.

Will write again in a couple of days ...hope to get a letter from you in tomorrow's mail

comradely

Ross

Please return Steve - only copy I have
will write in a day or so

March 28, 1951 ✓

Vancouver

Dear Reg:

No one has answered to my letter of 21st so I have sat down this afternoon to present a sort of ballot on the question still open for N.C. decision.

I have asked this question

I am in favor of accepting anything for the internal bulletin that the minority cares to present

or

I am in favor of RD drawing up a letter telling Comrade Rose and the four that their contributions must be circumscribed as Reg put it—to the text of his appeal to the decision of the CC and N.C.

I have voted in favor of your suggestion. We could of course just throw it wide open. There are arguments in favor of this of course. We would not want anyone to think for a moment that anything of vital and immediate importance has been suppressed by the N.C., and I am afraid from past performances that Comrade Rose will try to work on this. However there are in my opinion sounder arguments for circumscribing their contributions on this matter. After all the convention will deal with the case in detail and it doesn't need to be raked all over the lot prior to the convention. The CC report is quite restrained and doesn't go into the evidence submitted to it in any detail. And therefore doesn't require in the interests of democracy that Comrade Rose be given full latitude to spread all his charges and grievances. He will have lots of time for that at the convention. To throw the bulletin wide open to this will only keep this as the big issue before the party divert the attention of the comrades from the real problems confronting the party.

I am in favor of RD presenting the CC report on the Toronto enquiries in the name of the N.C. with the expulsion of the 4 changed to suspension.

I gather you are in favor of this from your last letter but you don't put it in black and white for me to act upon. Would you give your vote here.

Are you in favor of RD presenting these comrades with a demand that they signify their recognition of the authority of the convention?

I am in favor of this. This of course would not prevent them from appealing the convention decision of the International but it would mean that they recognise the authority of the convention of the Canadian party and pledge themselves in advance to commit no disloyal act pending the convention decision and the decision on any appeal that they may make to the International. They may sign it like a shot. They may hedge and stall and sign it with all kinds of if and buts. They may refuse to sign it. If they took the latter course we would be justified in refusing them access to any bulletin and even the convention. I think we are completely justified in asking for their signatures as their letter to the Toronto Branch (I sent you a copy) challenges the authority of the Branch, the CC the N.C. and implicitly the convention itself. You will recall in their document on the bureaucratic tendency they say something to the effect that they will abide by the decisions of the convention "as far as we are able". If I recall correctly the Shatchmanites ~~then~~ refused to signify in advance their willingness to accept the decisions of the World Congress and they were excluded. We commit ourselves in advance to abide by the findings of the convention—so must everyone else; if the discussion and decisions are to mean anything at all. I think this demand is in order.

Talking things over with Barry the other night and came to the conclusion that he has to quit work at once to get the documentation off the convention out. I just cant seem to get that little extra time to finish off the CCF peice and he hasnt started on the political resolu on. He quit today and is now working on his resolution. We expect to have it in your hands by April 10th. As soon as I get a little cleared away I will polish off the CCF document.

Think we should set the date for the convention. I hear that May 24 is no holiday. Suggest then that we strike the date as June 1,2,3, and 4. The fourth JUNE is the june holiday which will give comrades added time to take off and get here. ~~XXXXXX~~ This will give us enough time to discuss the documents in the party. Will work out all the details and present them in the next letter to the N.C.

Now that you must be pressed for time what with the Fellowship developments. And of course that is what I really am anxious to hear about from you. So if necessary just send me back the front page of this letter with tick marks or yes and noes in the appropriate places so I can clear away this chicken shit. Have you heard from Angus at all. Cant understand his silence.

Let us know what cooks with the Fellowship as soon as you can eh.

Warmest regards

Ross

April 2, 1951

Secretary of the Vancouver Branch RWP

Dear Comrade;

Enclosed you will find the full report of the Cntrol Commission that was struck off to investigate the unfortunate situation that has developed in our Toronto Branch. Sorry that I was unable to answer your request sooner but only yesterday ~~XXX~~ was I able to tally the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ national committee vote on an important question related to the Cntrol Commissions findings. I am sure the comrades appreciate the difficulties confronting the national committee which is so widely scattered and dependent on mail correspondence to discuss and reach its decisions.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In view of the fact that this report will be included in a bulletin that will be shipped out and in everyone's hands within ~~XX~~ a week or so you might consider the advisability of not taking up the time of the whole branch to go through its considerable length but at this time you yourself or some other comrade giving a short report.

I am also enclosing a list of names and adreeses of persons whose subs to Labor Challenge have just expired. They have been sent a notification but as you know most of our readers require someone to call around and pick up the renewal at the same time of couse affording us with an opportunity to talk with them and see if there are not some possible party contacts amongst them. I hope the branch is able to get onto this renewal work right away as ~~xxx~~ with this pile of expirations the circulation of our paper has been seriously cut and in Vancouver pared down to its bare bones.

What with the reaction to the "orean adventure we have found elsewhere that as high as 30 and 40 per cent are prepared to renew.

comradely

Ross Dowson

Have - ?

Suprised to see that the ~~the~~ Socialist Party of Canada had enough energy to raise its old heavy head. "hat a tragedy, a waste if the seventeen most of whom I gather are youth go to that decreipt sectarian outfit.

I am not too clear from your short two paragraphs dealing with this question what our comrades said there and what you intend to say if and when you manage to get to speak to the 17 via Court.

I would gather that our comrades at that meeting did not raise the question of the RWP ~~xxx~~ as a counter to the proposal to consider the SP of C. You say they called for a continued fight in the CCF. I am of course ~~talking~~ now talking on the basis of this tiny bit of information... ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ but there is not much doubt in my mind that when the SP of C came up that was the time for our comrades to not just have scotched that proposal by pointing out the sectarian character of this outfit and urging continued fight in the CCF but to have raised the idea of the RWP, investigating it ~~and the same~~

Persons who have gone through the experience that the Fellowship has gone through cannot be appealed to stay in the CCF, once they start talking about breaking away on any other basis than remaining in in order to build the revolutionary party. And it seem to me that this can only be posed to the 17 we are in the frame of mind of breaking away by posing what kind of revolutionary party we want. In other words it would seem to me when such a situation develops as did at the meeting of the 17 we have to sharply pose the question of the RWP. The question is a question of program in their minds...they have rejected the CCF program...they are going to the S.P.'s...we have to draw their attention to the RWP. Once you have convinced them of the RWP program then and only then to my mind can we raise the tactical question. ..and meet it...should we stay in the CCF? How can the party best be built...how can the program best be implemented.

How open our comrades may be in raising this question is of course a tactical one and to be determined by them...it may be enough to sharply attack the SP of C program and then say let's investigate the RWP...but it seems to me that we are not meeting the problem and the terrific possibilities there for us by merely repeating what they have been repeating to themselves now for years...you have to stay in the CCF,,you have to work in the CCF. They are far past that now. The only way they could be turned back would be to convince them of the program and ~~CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROGRAM~~ ANALYSIS of the Canadian scene as made by the RWP.

Possibly Since Court has talked the matter over with you since the meeting of the possibility of getting you down there ~~and~~ he thought we could afford to postpone this matter for a meeting. That may have been best ~~in~~ in such conditions time of course is of the essence.

But what are you going to say Reg....I am not clear from the few words you write.."present an analysis of the situation and outline a perspective." I am of the opinion that this must mean you should tell them what we are , the need for a revolutionary party with a revolutionary program. The question of emphasis here is very important.. perspective. We should give them our evaluation of the CCF and our opinion that the Canadian working class are probably

going to go through this experience but we should not present them with the ultimatum of remaining in the CCF...on the contrary we can go along with their present orientation towards breaking with it. Recruit them to the party...to its program first seems to me to be the task.

It is highly possible that you will not be invited despite Court's efforts. Eve Smith scribbled a note on the clipping about our ~~support~~ support of the Fellowship that appeared in the Vancouver press with the headline THE KISS OF DEATH. Then Court and our comrades have got to present the case...and I think sharply. Along the line By no means must we consider the SP of C...programmatically it stills (we should read up on it and do a real job) there are only two alternatives that I Court and company are prepared to consider....either stay in the CCF or join the RWP...all other proposals are suicide. I am very freindly, very very freindly ~~to the idea that we should pull out and join the RWP...the hell with the CCF. But before we do that let us I insist to study the program of the RWP. We can go over board on this ..Court can be vilently for pulling out of the CCF then he can be con-~~
~~vinced by you that he and they should after all stay in the CCF. But this idea of staying in the CCF is no ultimatum that we present to them. Let's capture them first...and I am convinced from what you say that this can only be done by recruiting them to the RWP program and in essence to the RWP was a party. Then and only then can we raise the matter of staying in...from the p point of view too of perhaps it would be best..but whatever you say. If you dont want to work in the CCF it is fine for us! It wouldn't be hard to convince them at anyrate to stay in the CCF until the convention...but the perspective that you must raise it seems to me to meet their problem is the party first the RWP...the CCF well let's talk it over.~~

Probably we see eye to eye on all thisbut I have banged this out anyway just in case we have something we want to talk over.

Drop me a line as soon as you can

warmest regards

Ross

Please Return Steve
only copy

April 26. 1951

Dear Reg;

I guess you must be thinking I just about died down here. Just been tied up as usual. Jean has come in to stay and I have been helping him to find a place to bunk. Also put the last issue of the paper away by myself. Barry is devoting all his time to writing the political resolution and so that he could go no without a break I took the paper job on entirely....at the last moment I had to however get him to write about 4 pages of copy. Then last but not least...we have started the job of tramping through the streets looking for a headquarters. We got notice a week ago that we had to be out by May 31. They are tearing down ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ down today covering a section of the city that is generally sufficiently run down as to provide us with the type of building that we can afford to rent space in. Saw a couple of good places but the rents were completely out of our range. I am afraid that we will have to pay a considerable amount more for our new place when we get it than we have been paying for the old one.

Which reminds me would you give Charley a big of a shake up. He hasn't sent me any money for so long that I am positive that he must have a considerable amount on hand. We need it as usual very bad.

But to get down to the struggle.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter that has been sent out to the British comrades which is quite an interesting synopsis of their work in the Labor Party. You will note that it asks that it be destroyed immediately upon being read. The security of this document is of course very important but I couldn't bring myself to destroying it until the Vancouver branch had had it read out to it. It will be an inspiration to the comrades and I think it would be a good thing if you read it to them at the very next meeting. Upon doing so would you destroy it at once. Even though it would be interesting to all comrades they can afford to miss it. I don't think you should let it out of your hands but attend to it yourself.

Next your article to the paper. Quite a butcher job eh-waht. Personally Reg I thought that the article was too light and we would not be justified in printing it up in our paper where space is so much at a premium. It was the type of trade union article that you would write up for a mass circulation paper in my opinion. You know... "well we are a force in the IWA, we have lots of IWA readers and the boys are looking for us to say something in every issue on something that is going on in the union...regardless of its general over-all significance, so here goes." Of course it had all the color you pack in your articles but there the case of the defence rests.

While taking up this matter I recall a note you appended to the letter you drew up for the SUN. You explained why you characterized the Coldwell leadership as Liberal and the opposition as socialist, not Leftist. Generally I think your point is well taken but it reminds me of a change I made in your last article that I neglected to mention. I seem to recall you characterized the Coldwell leadership, or maybe it was the CCF, I am not sure, as social democratic. I changed it to reformist. I don't believe we should characterize the CCF as social democratic, Murray touches on this point in his article in the internal bulletin. I am sure you agree that the CCF is not social democratic in the sense of European social democracy and the usual connotation that that term has in the minds of Leninists.

Have put Mather on our current Labor Challenge list. Let us know if he ever says anything about us. I gather he wields considerable influence upon radical circles...the Pacific Tribune never tires of attacking him. I gather since neither you or Rosslund have said anything that the Sun never carried the letter I wrote on the Fellowship.

Rather surprised to hear that Lloyd and Tom would consider you as a possible candidate for the chair of editor of local 1-217 paper...after your blasts against the contract, the fights you have been leading from the floor etc. They know that you are an opposition to them---how could they contemplate putting a paper into your hands even though they may be hard up for anyone who could do any kind of competent job. What is new along this line? I see you are much sought after from all sides...the Bolermakers. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ It would seem to me that in this case it is a matter of having someone to represent them at the council who is not tarred with the Stalin brush. Do you think they are still faced with the possibility of a raid? They would find someone who ~~has~~ has a good anti-Stalinist record very useful in their attempts to fend off such a possible raid.

What do the comrades think of the idea of taking on the Bolermakers post in the CCL council? They would like to use us but perhaps we could use them---if and when a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ an expulsion and raid came we would be of course in the key position to put forward our position on such question. Opposing all attempt on the part of the leadership to depose present or impose a new leadership on the local, stating our principled opposition to Stalinism, defending trade union democracy, putting forward our position, staying with the majority of the membership etc. If the Stalinists think twice they would not in my opinion go through with such a scheme for faced with the attacks on the Stalinist record we would certainly affirm it all, go on to give it a class character. Could they suffer such a thing even though we would defend trade union democracy. I think we could take it on even though with you working alone, with no help from the floor it would have some dangers for us...we could use it to give a real demonstration of how to fight the red ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ baiters

What 's new with the CCF Left. Did Court manage to get you an invite to the 17? We did our best from this end to raise support for the Fellowship and to place a barrier against the 17 going into the SP of C. Eve Smith is in contact with one of our comrades and she suggested that they may be going into the SP. Our comrade gave her the line that in his opinion they should stay in the CCF but if they broke away it could only be towards the RWP which was well worth giving consideration to. Rosslund did the same. Our British friend told them to go underground...all this must have staggered our dear little Eve no end. How did you like the edit in the last issue--Troskyism and the CCF? I was none too sure about going as far as we did but in the light of the situation---the innuendoes against us in the CCF News from Smith, the Sun slander thought it best to put our cards on the table..to be frank ~~XXXXX~~ What effect has all this had on the 17? Incidentally we proved unable to get the Ginger group to show any concern about the fate of the Fellowship.

What preparations are being made for the convention? I haven't come across the date but it must be very close at hand. I think now particularly with the Bevan break in the BLP that the left may swing the whole convention if it plays its cards right. Rosslund sent me a letter from Macleod of Nanaimo urging them in Rosslund not to give up the fight in which she says her club is demanding that a bulletin for free discussion be set up following the convention by the B.C. section. It would be good if the Left would organize its fight around two or three simple clear and straightforward resolutions, the right of minority groups to exist in the

tendencies to organize in the party, further the victories already scored by the Left against Coldwell on the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan by a resolution on conscription or one on Korea demanding withdrawal of Cdn troops. Incidentally your and Rogers resolution on conscription which was an excellent one went much further than the one we tried to pass at the Ginger Group---further than perhaps was necessary. The Ginger group attacked conscription on the basis that by no stretch of the imagination could the conscription in the light of Korea and German rearmament be considered for the defence of Canada---it was imperialist. As I recall it without looking it up yours demanded principled opposition to conscription... It would be good if we could convince Roger not to try to fight around such fundamental resolutions as the one on the UN but to broaden the fight and place it in a more realistic setting say by putting forward one demanding the withdrawal of troops from Korea. It could start off with "in the light of events it is necessary for us to urge the movement to completely re-evaluate the stand we took on Korea at the national convention last summer etc etc. The UN resolution is too advanced too discriminating...everything in it can be put across more effectively by a resolution on Korea etc.

Ed Charlie can present the Bray resolutions to his club. Does the CCFM have any delegates at the CCF convention. It would be good if we can start the formation of the block now. There is one danger and that is that the Left as it is now constituted is liable to repeat some of the stupid errors that it did in the Fellowship. We should be able to give it more effective direction now however so that we can hope to come out of the convention with a broad leftist movement around us which will under the impetus of the budget, the international situation (Bevan and the BLP) start shortly to go to town.

What's new on the hospital tax...? Is there going to be an election shortly. What do you think of the possibility of our entering it if there is one. We could probably scare up the money,,, could we find a seat which the CCF won't be challenging.

Will write within a few days I hope re several matters confronting the N.C. also about the coming issue of the paper.

comradely

Ross

April 27, 1951

NFLX-(CP Ymca)

Dear Dick;

(Chen?) (Victoria)

Thanks for the clippings and info on the whirlwind that the hospital question has kicked up. But why the hell didn't you write it up for us. You know that your union dues in our office local are paid up. I even make a point of punching you in each morning. We wrote it up in an editorial one of the reasons being that I generally don't like to touch stuff like that being so far from the scene. It is easy to take a wrong slant on such a question when you only have newspaper clippings at your disposal. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Barry wrote the edit. I was hoping to keep him off this issue as he has been working on the political resolution for the convention which we simply must get out and which has been causing him more trouble than we contemplated. But at the last minute I got stuck at the printers and he banged it off. Pretty good one isn't it. I notice along the same line that there was a threat of general strike building up in the city of Quebec last week. ..this was over some taxes that the municipal govt was contemplating passing. The tax threat was withdrawn when the population showed its opposition.

Havent heard from Reg for a couple of weeks, mostly my fault as the pressure of work here has prevented me replying to his last letter. Have to get a new headquarters in the next 30 days as they are pulling our building down. Havent seen anything remotely in our price range so far. in my meanderings down around the districts which are likely to have such aspace as we can afford.

Since we have heard nothing I gather that the Left has turned back to work in the CCF---that is the Eve Smith group of 17 who were rumoured to be going of all places to the Socialist Party of Canada. I think we have stymied such a move...had Rosslund write her a letter telling her how absurd it was..if there was any place to go outside of the CCF it could only possibly be to the RWP, applied the same pressure through one of our CCF fraction with whom she is in contact and I hear that our English friends told her to go underground. The odds are very good that the Left if it learned anything from its past experience and our comrades play their cards right can do big things at the convention that is coming up. The recent developments around the Br budget and Bevan will give the Left a real hoist. They have some good issues to fight on if they can overcome their sectarian tendencies and lay the foundation for a really effective Left wing that will develop in the next turn. I think they could swing the convention on the right of fractions to exist in the CCF, ~~XXXXXXXX~~ on the demand that Canadian troops be withdrawn from Korea, and possibly the question of ~~Korean~~ conscription. Of course Bray and others think they have to take a principled stand on UN ~~ARMY~~ or rather force the convention to take such a stand when a much more effective way would be to demand that in the light of information since the last national convention the position on Korean intervention be changed and Cdn troops be withdrawn. Bray's resolution on conscription goes farther than necessary demanding that a principled stand be taken rather than the position we tried to put across at the Ginger group here...that this conscription in the light of Korea and German rearmament has nothing to do with the defence of Canada but is imperialist in nature. I have written our Vancouver comrades and am hoping that we can intervene in the situation to line up the forces of the Left

on three or four simple questions that can possibly rally the entire B.C. section. From past conventions on the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact we have good reason to believe that considerable progress can be made there.

I see you are getting in touch with the Victoria CCF. I hope we can manage to do something there. The odds are however much better that you can do more effective work through Byron. It would be well if you could make another trip to his place and talk over the matter of the coming convention and what can be done in his club. Yes Byron is always full of revolutionary optimism...not at all unfounded of course. But he strikes me to be cursed somewhat with the tendency of the inevitability of it all.

I see there is a by-election coming up in his area.....a real opportunity for us to contact whatever there is that is any good in the Victoria Sooke area. With the provincial convention coming the Sooke Club which has always been left thanks to Byron's work should be hopping. Byron has a great deal of prestige in that area. He assures me that he will be able to arrange a public meeting for us when the comrades come out on their tour. But unfortunately we have never consolidated on any of the work he has done. We have only one member Byron in that area. And to be perfectly frank with you Byron himself hardly fills the bill of membership. He never consults us about his work, what resolutions he should advance what stand he should take in his union work. He never even gives us progress reports on his contacts and of course hasn't sent in any money since he got married although prior to that he used to send in ten dollars every month as regular as clock works. He is only in occasional contact with Vancouver and he should be working hand in glove with them particularly with the CCF-CCYM work.

I am not sure but I think we have a very real perspective of building a branch in the Sooke, Milnes Landing area. We have people who have subscribed for years. What form the branch would take on I am not too sure. Maybe a Trotskyist CCF club, or a sizeable working fraction in the CCF club. ...at anyrate we must make every attempt to consolidate something in that area. I don't think Byron is going to do it...I am almost positive that he is not...he seems to be plagued with the concept of inevitability. But we should be able to pull some money out of that area...money that we need very badly. We should be able to tie a couple of people right up with the party although they should probably continue to work in the CCF. I wonder Dick if you could go in there again and see what you could do along this line. Have a talk with Byron about this need to consolidate something. Don't mention this letter but pose the matter as you see fit. It would be good if you could arrange to be in Milnes Landing when the CCF club is meeting and attend a meeting. At the very least I would like a full report so that we could discuss the problem over. It would be good to have a discussion a detailed one with him on his CCF work and see what his concept of the problem really is. I feel fairly sure that we could recruit a few people there. That would be a terrific gain for us. Incidentally that fellow Frank Mitchell wrote into us once. I can't remember when or just what it was about but my impression was that he is a bit of a leftist. Of course he may have changed considerably---that was 4 or 5 years ago.

I don't know how much time you have...but it would seem to me if you are able after getting into first grips with the problem of work in

Milnes landing that it would be good if we could work in an around the by-election campaign. Genrallt the CCF is pretty dead but I would think that with this election coming as it does during the hospital hullabaloo would turn up around the headquarters some good worker militant types. Probably this would be one time when it would be really good to hang around and work around the CCF. Good to see that the a PAC has been set up, might be well to hang around it if it carries on an any independent election work.

Hope you are making arrangements to hitch your way across the country for our convention. Havent set the date yet but will let you know as soon as we can so you can adjust your summer accordingly. It will be a valuable experience for you to come across the country, to meet the East asdie from the supreme importance of the convention.

What is new with the NFLY. I see they are having their national convention here next month. They report considerable success from their membership drive. Is there anything there we can grab from them. A little tid-bit you will be interested to hear. Was down at the post office the other day checking inot some restrictions they wanted to impose on our promotional work with the paper. On the desk of the felcow to whom I was talking was a letter from the Canadian Tribune reporting their circulation. Across Canada it ~~was~~ less than 6,000. 1,400 odd in Toronto, 4,200 odd in the rest of the cuntry. Of course that doesn't count the Pacific Tribune, which is yelling SOS on its financial drive. Doesn't amount o much does it. We are in a fairly good position. If we play our cards right there is little doubt that the Stalinist movement can be pretty well pushed out of the scene. Looks like they are going to get the gong at Trail.

Must get this away so I can get on my way again looking for a headquarters...hope it doens't interfere with the next issue of the paperp. Let me know if you think you have something lined up for the next issue.

warmest regards

Ross Dowson

April 27, 1951)

Box 104
Townsite
Britannia Beach

Dear Bill; (white)

Received your letter with the \$3 money order and have handled as you instructed. Enclosed you will find the M.O. stub. Isent a few extra dollars on our own account so that explains the \$6, your two was in that amount.

By god you are a man of few words, Nothing about the paper, the internal bulletins, problems of the party as you see them, what the boys in Britannia are thinking these days about the hospital tax, the budget, the CCF and so forth. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Come on...give us a few words; let's us know what you are doing with yourself, what our contacts are thinking... I am enclosing a couple of expired sub names. They received notice that their sub to the paper had expired....but have failed to renew. Do they ever say anything about the paper...criticisms, praise or what have you?

Yes that was a very interesting report of the conflict at Port Colborne. Shows very dramatically that the Stalinist leadership had absolutely no reserve, no capital in the minds of the union rank and file. Coming from a Stalinist unionist this is very interesting. All the Stalinists could work on at Port Colborne was the organizational loyalty ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~. more an organizational conservatism in the ranks. This report would tell me that far from the militants, the local union activist corebeing with the Stalinists just the opposite was the case...these elements found their way easily to ~~XXXXXX~~ Steel. The Stalinists on prejudices existing in the workers minds against outsiders etc.

This is very interesting for one of the decisive factors in determining our course of course is where the militants are...not only do we not want to get out off from the mainstream of the labor movement but in particular we do not want to get out oof from the militants, the union core, in the shops in which we work. From that report in my mind we would have been in complete error to have done anything else than to have lined up wth Steel, making known of course our opposition to red-baiting and demanding that the rankand file democratically and freely decide its own course.

opposition to
In my mind those comrades who make a principle out of raiding, out of our opposit on to the CCL bureaucracy's high handed and brutal expulsion of Mine Mill etc from the CCL are proven by the above report and will be proven at Trail shortly to be on ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ unsolid ground. The principle is to be with the masses, and above all with the militants. Rosslund wrote me a short time ago that he was stunned to learn that Mine Mill has something less than 1700 members at Trail. Yes I noticed that that the Supreme Court has overruled the LRB on the Trail case. It would seem certain to me that if and now I guess it is now just a matter of when, a vote is taken Steel will take it. And not entirely on reactionary grounds either even though the whole thing is badly coloured with keep the reds out of our heavy watrer plant etc.

They have some powerful arguments, some mighty effective appeals to the militants....the rotten settlement Mine Mill made to keep in, the obvious LRB collusion with Mine Mill (of course we know it was only in the hope that in the scramble the company could get rid of both), Murphy's recent appeal to the government to give the poor gold owners a break by letting gold find its world level, the praise Mine Mill has had from prominent liberals, Tories and company executives.... last but not least do you want to stay in the mainstream of the labor movement---Steel is in it. Mine Mill isn't, an indisputable fact whether one likes it or not.

The Stalinist ~~UNION~~ led unions are doomed Bill. The whole tide is against them...they may hold on here for a while and there for a while but they are all going to go the way that Mine Mill is going in Northern Ontario...go down before Steel. Nothing tragic in this ...the Stalinist led unions don't represent anything more militant or progressive than the Millar-Conroy led unions.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ As a matter of fact the whole Stalinist movement on this continent is doomed if we play our cards right. I happened to be down at the post office today checking up on why they were refusing to let us use a special trail sub form blank we have been using. On the desk of the fellow to whom I had to talk was a letter from the Canadian Tribune. It gave the circulation of that rag in this country. In Toronto they had 1,419, and 4258 in the rest of Canada. Less than 6,000 subscribers to their paper. Of course this doesn't count the Pacific Tribune, limited to circulation in B.C. only. But you can see that this movement isn't airtight after all much. The Peace Congress---the widest front one could possibly devise was an awful flop. Of course they can still hold meetings here of 2 and 3000 on special occasions but it is pretty much all periphery....a periphery that has no future for them...as Mao develops further independence this is going to continue to melt. Fortunately we are not going to go through the gruelling experience on this continent that our French and Italian brothers are going through with Stalinism...and in the latter time is running fast with the Cuchin Magnani split etc.

Mot much more on the CCF left than was published in the last issue of L.C. Haven't heard from Reg for the last few weeks. There was talk that a sizeable group (17) of the Left might pull out and go of all places to the Socialist Party of Canada. But I think we have put the blocks to that and got them to turn back into the CCF. A considerable number I hope have been brought into our CCF party fraction. No doubt the Left will get a big spurt from the developments in the Br Labor Party around the last budget and Bevan. We are trying to prepare things so that we will have some possibility of repudiating Coldwells ban on fractions thro the coming B.C. provincial convention. We have a nice group around us with Rosslund. Things are quiet here in the East...still working on the so-called Gnger group...but the work is at a very low level.

Must close this off as I have to get out on my shanks ponies to look for a new headquarters. We received notice a week or so that they are tearing our present headquarters down. Been touring the streets the last few days in those areas where we are likely to find the type of run down building such as we can afford to get headquarters in. Things don't look any too promising at this time. Have seen lots of places but they are a way too high for us to handle. Have to be out by the end of May and it looks like we will have to pay more, probably at least twice as much as

we are paying now. Hope you are salting away a few sheckles that you can send us shortly to meet the financial burdens of the party.

Hope you can drop us a line more often, tell us what you are thinking these days, we badly need the contact with the field. Got any ideas for the paper. What do you think of the past few issues.

Did you know that we now have the vice-presidency of the new Pulp and Sulphide workers union in Prince Rupert? Angsu has switched out of fish into the cellulose plant that has been built up there. Do you write to him at all? I am sure he would be pleased to hear from you when you can find the time.

Regards to the family.

warmest regards

Ross Dawson

May 4, 1951

Steve — (Trail)

Dear Reg;

By now you have recieved an assortment of pictures for you to take your choice from. Hope you find something to suit your taste..ship anything you dont care for back to me at your convenience. While I dont bother ~~while~~ this stuff any more there is the odd person that asks me for somthing or other.

You told me all about your film Youth of Today but you never shipped it here. I recall suggesting that we would like to show it sometime but if my memory serves me correct you were not too sure where it was even at that time, 1948 Fall.

Reveived a letter from Dick the other day reporting that he is on his way out of Victoria. Did you by any chance have a talk with Steve about ~~him~~ his pulling out of Trail. Of course right now with the favorable developments in the Fellowship there it would be foolish but what is his reaction to the idea of eventually getting out of there and adding his considerable talents to Vancouver or Toronto? I raise this matter in relation to Dick because if Steve wont be pulled then in my opinion we should make every attempt to reinforce him there. Dick would be a likely candidate it would seem to me. I know we could make good use of his talents in Vancouver but he would in my opinion be more valuable to the party with Steve. I doubt if it would be difficult to get a job in Trail. He could at least go in and scout around..Steve I imagine could put him up without much trouble. Would you have a talk ith him along this line.

Re- this issue of the paper---still lokking for a place but there seems to be a fair supply this year...we could have got several todate but the prices are too high. At anyrate it seems that we will be able to go to press this moth ok. I had some doubts for a while in the belief that our time might be taken up in finding a place and getting moved which is no small job by any means.

What have you got for this issue? Is the B.C. convention taking plave this month? I have scoured the CCF News, read reports of the election of delegates but there is no mention of the date of the convention. If the convention is scheduled for this month or ealry June(before the June issue) ~~what~~ how do you think we should handle it. Is it in Vancouver where we could cover it with the paper? Havent received any copies of resolutions that are being submitted etc.

I have read your and Steve's report of the ~~ANNUAL~~ Left. What do you think is the problem with the better elements---what objection have they got to the Trotskyists, why does the SP of C tend to be of interest to any of them. I mean of course the better elements..the students. Perhaps we could write up an educational article dealing with the main difference or reservation they have with regards to us.

our

Generally I favor articels to the Left to be evaluations of things they have done, or their opposition has done..like the UN, the General Strike material; or to be general educational articles that deal with

a question that we know is a big one between them and us

There is a certain reaction aroused by inside dope stuff which is of course interesting and makes PCFers want to read our press which is not too favorable for giving ~~XXXXX~~ CCF workers a correct orientation to us. Inside dope, exposé articles tend to make leftists look upon us as a conspiracy, as something a little underhanded, a little untrustworthy.

That CCYM dissolution story looks like it would be good but we will have to write it up carefully. Well let me know about the convention, what you think we should do with the paper with regards to our CCF work for this issue.

I gather from your comments on my letter of the 10th that you disagree with my viewpoint of pushing the RWP hard before the 17 but purely on the matter of timing. One of the conceptions that I based my opinion on was that the Fellowship were going out fast to the SP of C. I see that this is not so that generally they have been blocked in this direction. Steve says that they are lost to the CCF confirming my opinion and I see yours that if they are going to work in the CCF it would have to be as RWPers convinced of the RWP orientation to the CCF. Another point that I see determines your opinion is the youth group, the CCYM, as a whole which you say contains some good stuff who are as yet only in association with the 17 of the Fellowship.

Well I am in general agreement, haven't had a chance to talk the matter over with Grenier as he has been called out of town again. Your proposal of endeavoring to ~~XXXX~~ maintain the status quo until John Bull's trip I have my doubts about. That wouldn't be until August at the earliest and from what you say the decision is probably going to be made by most of them at or following the convention.

Steve's bulletin is a good idea. I gather this first contribution is due for circulation before the convention. How are we attempting to direct the fight at the coming convention? I hope that the resolutions are not the fundamentalist resolutions that the Fellowship tended to draw up but are more in line with the comments in the last letter I wrote you. Glad to see that Steve was in town so that you had a chance to talk over the probable lines of developments and his course. I gather there is a very promising situation in his area. As you know he himself in the past has been none too clear on perspective..tending to discount CCF work in favor of working in the union. From your report of the provincial council it would seem to me that the right is going to take a beating at the convention with regards to the Fellowship ban. Such a beating can line the convention up for its duration. They are in a good position to demand that the party reconsider its national convention stand on Korea in the light of subsequent developments. In other words it would seem to me that the Left can swing the convention. There is little doubt in my mind that we are on the verge of a new wave of struggles in this country and that in the next year or so the CCF is going to undergo a considerable growth (the hospital tax augur) In this light it would seem to me that we should keep Steve in the CCF even if the rest of the Fellowship pulls out with a considerable number going to our party. I think Steve may have some resistance to this idea, at anyrate there may be as it is natural that the comrades if we are confronted with making a break would like it to be as inspiring, as demonstrative as possible.

In other words it would be good that we don't let those of the 17 who will come to our party, won't continue to work on in the CCF under party direction, set our pace. If they wish to make a principled break it is inevitable that it will involve our best fraction workers. It would be good if we can keep our fraction as rounded as possible so that our long term

orientation to the CCF won't be crippled. ~~THESE ARE THE MAIN REASONS WHY WE MUST NOT~~
I can't see our general orientation to the CCF being effected no matter what happens
at this convention. This convention won't reflect in anyway the possibilities that
are beginning to confront the B.C. section. The move hasn't really started. At most if
the Left fails in its tasks and the Fellowship core pulls out our fraction would only
tone down its CCF work and step up its independent party work for a period.

Glad to see you have arranged to check Steve's writings for the internal bulletin
he is putting out. From the few odds and ends of his that I have seen my impression is
that he has not really grasped the transitional program.

What is the score with a sub drive this spring in Vancouver? Will we be able
to handle a coordinated national drive or does the pressure of the CCF work this month
leading up to the convention make it too difficult for the Vancouver comrades to handle
it. I haven't taken it up with the Toronto comrades as yet for as soon as Barry
polishes off the political resolution I am going to ~~REVISE THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION~~ polish off
the CCF resolution and we will be moving at the same time. We would probably like to
start it here in Toronto June 1st. Would you let me know the score on this.

Enclosed is a receipt for that wad of dough you sent in. Boy we needed it. As
a matter of fact I was on the verge of writing you to ask you what has happened to
Charley as I hadn't received anything from him for months. I gather this is that
very fine contribution that our bushworkers Dick turned over to the branch.

Will get that N.C. correspondence out yet.

Will you tell me the score on this issue of the paper by return mail. The deadline
will be the fourteenth.

warmest regards

Ross

May 17, 1951

Dear Reg;

Got your valuable contribution to the discussion on perspectives--going to try and get it typed out and sent to Angus and Murray right away--haven't heard from them yet. Don't know what is keeping them unless there are scads of corrections they want to make. Hope we are not delayed much longer. We have been holding up our discussion until we hear from them, then in the light of their comments we will make the polished job. Grenier has taken away your marked up copy to go over so haven't had a chance to ~~XXXXX~~ know of your criticisms other than the fundamental one on party tasks. Don't agree with you there but you raise very valid points--the document is weak along the line you say but we had intended to amplify this aspect of it via the CCF document.

Should have told you sooner so you don't get in a stew shipping the CCF convention material our way. We have decided to take up your suggestion that this issue but with a slight variation. In essence your proposal of holding back this issue five or ten days means missing the May issue. We have talked the matter over here and have decided to skip May for other reasons...We ~~XXX~~ have been planning to miss an ~~XX~~ issue this summer as is our custom to save money..but this summer with Barry and Murray on tour we need the paper for the summer months. ~~XXXXX~~ Why should it be this issue we miss? We have another very good reason..to get the May and June issue away would be a real bat run job...we are moving...I am expecting to get word from our landlord that the lease is ready for us. The place we are taking on is going to need some considerable elbow grease put to it in order to make it suitable. Then I have to get the CCF document away..and in time now I see so that you can make a suitable answer to it.

This will give us much more time to do a thorough job on the convention for the June issue.

Will write in a day or so. Got a note from Steve a few days ago...tells me that he will be unable to get to the convention.

Incidentally the new headquarters opens up a new vista for the Toronto branch and the party generally. It is a store with sufficient room behind it to have a good meeting place. It is costing us for us a pile of money....\$55 a month. Scouted around for almost a month off and on and this is the best by far offer we received. It is a store in a side street just up from Dundas and Bay...very important streets in this city of Toronto. Haven't signed the lease yet so I am a trifle nervous--from my headquarters hunting experience the landlord could get another ten for it even though it is in terrible shape. Ha--just received a phone call from the landlord who tells me that the cement floor is going in tomorrow so I guess everything is in the bag. Through the tearing down of our building the bourgeoisie have generated a stormy crisis in the lives of about 80 people. The guy downstairs told me just now that he had to pay \$45 for a piece of space 12 by 20. The guy upstairs has taken a place I was looking over not as good as ours for \$65. Next door the old duffer is putting his tailoring equipment into storage...for the rent he would have to pay he figures he might as well retire. I was going to give you our new address...we will be in it within a week and a half but I ~~XXXXX~~ don't recall the number of Elm Street. We will send a notice out to everyone when we sign the lease.

comradely

Ross

621 Elm Street, ~~Box~~
June 16, 1951 ✓

To the Vancouver Branch

Dear Comrades;

I received Comrade Court's letter today on the situation with ~~you~~ regards to your branch's representation to our coming National Convention.

We are of course very happy to hear that you feel able to finance one delegate--but with due recognition to your greater familiarity with the problem as it is posed there we strongly urge that every effort be made to increase the Vancouver delegation.

Comrade Court says that "the feeling of the branch seems to be that if the issues at stake were of prime importance, that is, the future was in jeopardy, then we would go and to hell with the consequences." But it appears that the branch does not feel that the issues at stake are of prime importance.

Allowing for the sketchiness of Comrade Court's note and the possibility of misunderstanding I feel it necessary to stress to you that the entire eastern section of the party considers this convention in the exact same light as if the "future" of the party "was in jeopardy."

We gather from Comrade Court's comment that there are no issues at stake of prime importance that you find yourselves in general agreement with the political resolution. This is very good but this fact cannot be the basis of evaluation of the importance of the convention for the Vancouver branch or the party. Even if the Vancouver branch agreed to every jot and tittle of the political resolution it is necessary that it defend the resolution and see that it is adopted by the convention. Even if its formal adoption were felt to be assured it is necessary that as many comrades as possible get to the convention to assure that its spirit and all its implications are understood and appreciated and carried out.

The resolution of controversy by formal vote is the least important aspect of a convention of a Bolshevik party. even if there were no controversy in the party on an important issue if the party had the resources it would hold a convention every year with plenums every three or four months. Conventions are necessary to arm the party, to bring the leading comrades together, not to go through the formality of casting votes but to give the party the benefit of individual comrades and individual branches experiences, to hammer out the application of the decisions, to build an integrated leadership, to re-affirm the party in its great purposes, to re-inspire it and set it off onrward anew, rearmed on its course.

This convention takes on a cardinal importance. It will be the first in five years...the second in the history of our movement in this country furthermore in the tumultuous times that we are living in we cannot at all be sure when we will be able to hold ~~another~~ the next one.

This convention must be considered the high spot in five years or intense party activity. Every party comrade who can possibly get to it

must be there to participate in it. Every branch must send as many delegates as it possibly can.

This would be a cheap way or you all the only the most essential that I venture to make detailed suggestions as to how we may find our way clear to meet the demands

that the convention of 1934 will have to face. The representation from Vancouver is probable that you will be the sole suppliers of Western delegates and the success of the convention—our first in five years and who knows when we will be able to hold the next—depends on your sending as full a delegation as is humanly possible. Every comrade in the West where of course the time and transportation question is not near your problem will be here on July 14, 15, 16 and is looking forward to meeting you.

Ross Dowson

The party must be prepared to involve itself in a considerable debt to assure the greatest possible representation. If it means coming by TCA, the making up of comrade's losses in pay etc...all well and good... we are prepared to float loans which can be paid off over an extensive period of time.

We have made enquiries from the various methods of transportation.

TCA	\$233.55	12 hours 30 minutes flying time.
Bus	\$7.00	5 days, 4 nights plus cost of hotel and meals
Train	\$37.93	tourist with berth, 4 nights, 5 days, plus meals
hitch hiking		can be done on \$40 for meals and hotels, 6 or 7 days

I am hoping that a couple of the younger comrades, Alec or Dick for instance, can hitch in. If TCA is necessary in order to ensure the attendance of another leading comrade then of course it must be used. Possibly a comrade who is a housewife, without younger children, could get away for a couple of weeks and come via bus—the space between Vancouver and Toronto is far from uninteresting and the trip is pleasant with overnight stops. It would be ideal if some comrade has a car that could make the trip and we could fill it up. We are investigating a deal whereby a car dealers outfit hires individuals to drive new cars from the West here to Vancouver, contributing \$25 towards gas and oil. This would be a cheap way of returning after the convention. We will send you all the data the minute we receive it.

We are hopefully looking forward to a delegation of 3 or 4 from Vancouver. It is probable that you will be the sole suppliers of Western delegates and the success of the convention—our first in five years and who knows when we will be able to hold the next—depends on your sending as full a delegation as is humanly possible. Every comrade in the West where of course the time and transportation question is not near your problem will be here on July 14, 15, 16 and is looking forward to meeting you.

comradely

Ross Dowson

June 19, 1951 ✓

Dick Chester
Alta Lake P.O., B.C.

Dear Dick;

Very ~~glad~~ happy that you dropped us a line so soon after you found yourself a boss. I have been hoping to hear from you ~~as~~ I have a proposition to place before you for your consideration.

You would be doing the party a great favor and expediting the development of yourself as a revolutionary if you could find your way clear to dumping that job of yours within two or three weeks and coming into Toronto for our convention.

Last week I received a letter from Court and today one from Reg telling us that it will be impossible for the Vancouver branch to have more than one comrade here for the convention...even then this comrade will have to fly in and stay only for the convention itself as he will not be able to get time off from work. ~~XXX~~ Reg says that neither Bill, Allaline nor he can get time off for leisurely travel; Ruth is tied down with the child of her ~~XXXX~~ deceased brother, Alex is somewhere up in the Yukon etc.

So you can see that our convention is in a very bad way in so far as being truly a successful one. I don't believe that there is any great controversy in the party that has to be resolved by a formal vote of a convention but of course this can't be the basis of evaluating the importance of the convention and the need of every comrade to make every possible sacrifice to attend its sessions. We haven't had one for five years--in this tumultuous period we cannot be too sure when and under what circumstances we will be having another one. One of the big problems confronting our party is the building of an integrated leadership. We haven't been able to do much to resolve this problem but conventions are big steps in this direction. It is essential that the cadre should know one another, exchange viewpoints and opinions that can't be done via mail. The Vancouver comrades only know the center ~~XXX~~ through having met me when I was in Vancouver, the paper and the Internal bulletin. Then of course the passage of resolutions is a far call from the party fully appreciating their meaning and implementing them. But I am sure you know all this as well as I do.

No one can come in from PR, Trail won't be here---as things now stand it is probable that there will be only the one comrade from the entire West, the one that flies in. So you see we need your aid very badly.

Do you guys sign contracts when you take those jobs in lumber camps-- I suppose they can easily be broken by working bad or having your mother in Toronto die. I know you have little funds at your disposal. Well we are prepared to go into debt for this convention...a considerable sum that can't be paid off over a number of years. If lack of funds stand in your way this will be remedied at once.

We will wire the funds necessary for your trip.

return

The bus fare is (Toronto-Vancouver) \$37.00, 5 days and 4 nights. You could ride the bus on a couple of nights but would have to put over for a couple then there are your meals. You could do it in the neighbourhood of \$100. The trip is far from uninteresting. As a matter of fact I found it to be a real education. Hitch hiking is a good way particularly if you keep ahead of the busses so that if and when you get stuck you can always take it part way. The first time I went out to Vancouver I did it by this combination hitch hiking and bus riding method. This method is really cheap and is in some ways more interesting than going straight by bus. You would have to give yourself a few more days of course. You will be completely looked after by the comrades when you get here.

all what do you say?

I sincerely hope your answer is yea and that you can leave with lots of time to ensure your arrival here a day or so in advance of the convention. I know you are aware that we are hard pressed for money but do not hesitate for one moment to write for financial aid if this has any bearing on your ability to get in. The whole thing will be a terrific experience for you that

I hear our comrade Max has an itchy foot....and it was that to a considerable degree sent him off on his Yukon jaunt. Do you have his address? If you do would you ~~please~~ urge him head in the Toronto direction. There is plenty of space between here and the Pacific to satisfy everyone's curiosity. While he is here he could go on down to Montreal.

Will you let me know your decision just as soon as possible.

The paper is now going through the presses. I'll send you a copy as soon as I can. I am enclosing two bulletins...the minority balance sheet and another copy of the political resolution you asked for. So you have anything you would like to submit for the bulletin. If you do I hope you can send it in shortly, but then I hope we will meet this 14, 15, 16.

Warmest regards

Friday morning
July 7, 1951

Vancouver
Dear Bill

(Whitney)

Just a note to confirm our telephone conversation.

Glad to hear that Dick has already left and that there is a good possibility that MacDonald may come.

Somewhat surprised that Dick took the bus rather than hitch-hike. There is the old spirit of adventure out there in the West? Hate like hell to see us use up 50¢ (of branch money above all let alone an individual comrades' money) unless absolutely essential.

We are really having a tough time of it financially but of course as I said in a recent note to Court--whatever must be done along this line will just have to be done--to ensure that we have a real convention.

Still I must admit with one eye on our soaring debt I am somewhat gaga about a delegate of our poverty stricken party travelling by air and I am just wondering if there just isn't some way we can get around it. I know of course you must have given a lot of thought to this matter but last night you mentioned that by coming, even by air, that you would probably lose your job. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ In the light of this it would seem to me that we shouldn't worry too much about the extra time off the job that bus or train requires. (I am surprised that you think the Rose case is worthy of a couple of days advance arrival to the tune of what it seems to me might be considered a couple of hundred bucks) Since we are already facing the possibility of losing our job should we worry too much about taking extra time off that bus or train ~~XXXXXX~~ travel requires. It would amount to a considerable saving to use this in travel and send Lil enough money to tide over the hours than come by air--I would say a hundred dollars or so.

Don't get me wrong--haven't got cold feet on this money question--but an air fare of \$300 would take so many comrades for instance for instance Lalaine and her boy, Ruth and her wards or someone else who could use holiday time and possibly his holiday money. AND the entire amount to come from the N.O. I had thought that Reg's info from Reg's information that you could handle the fare that you had some source that could be tapped for this special affair but not for usual party affairs.

I don't want to be petty about this but you know we haven't received any money from Vancouver for about 6 months aside from that comrade's special contribution that you turned over to us. I haven't received anything for the IS financial drive and as a matter of fact I am right now drawing on the money that was collected for some immediate expenses. The N.O. must owe at least \$700. But we will get the dough that is necessary all right.

wire

Will ~~XXXX~~ you the money Monday--will have to go out of town to get it on Saturday for the ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ and a most successful convention
Ross

July 25, 1951 ✓

Dear Reg;

Don Borland

Just a note to let you know that everything is going along fine here. No doubt you have been wondering. Been tied up getting things lined up with Murray and Barry for the tour and now have the paper to put out---so I will be busy for the next week

But just a line to let you know that the convention was a big success. As no doubt Bill told you the minority dumped their counter-resolution and we are back working together again. The first two meetings have been good. The majority has successfully adjusted itself to them, they are quiet---one of them starts to nibble away again at our orientation but the majority had nothing to say..one of the minority comrades ~~XXXX~~ (of course this designation is now out) pushed the nibbler back into line. Hard to say what the future holds but at anyrate the entire party will be preparedand the odds look extremely good that everything will straighten out.

The big thing was of course that we unanimously passed the general line of the political resolution. We can now go ahead with conception of what is what. It was really unfortunate that you were unable to attend. From what I could gather none of the Vancouver comrades who were here had really given much thought to the problems confronting the CCF. Of course my contribution was delayed as was yours. No one was at all too sure just what the implications of your contribution were. XXXI Neither Jack nor Dick had anything to say in the discussion. It is really a pity that you did not have my document at hand when you wrote your comments. I believe that my document is a very detailed and precise extension of the problems that you raise. It would be very good if you would sit down over the next few weeks and write something up on my document which would make much clearer in the P.C.'s mind just what the precise character of your previous contribution is. You see we are going to have a series of further discussions on the Political Resolution and your suggested modifications or amendments and I for one and I am sure this is the feeling of the rest of the P.C. would like to know your opinion in the light of my contribution

I see I am getting into one of my letters and I must stop. Jack will be back with you or at least in B.C. by Labor Day. He is working here but I gather his feet are itching as he is going to Montreal in a few days then to the SWP camp and New York then Chicago to Vancouver. Dick while giving the appearance of a little uncertainty intends to stay here for quite a period. Very quiet and hard to get to know but he appears to be a very serious guy and I will certainly do my best to work on him, throw him into the peer etc. He has taken a temporary construction job until get a little money together---we have one of his feet in the door of Canada's makers. Your loss and our gain.

Glad to hear Don B is back with you. Hope you are able to pull him back into activity. He actually broke from us in Windsor but that shouldn't be held too much against him---we have a real clash of personalities there and he was just overwhelmed. Probably everything will straighten up now that he is back at home, with some one to look after his personal needs ...you old married men have to appreciate it how hard it is for a single guy to batch it particularly when that single guy is our Don. Well despite all our difficulties he showed some really brilliant flashes of knowledge while here.

Well the trip is on---Murray and Barry are going to do ~~it~~ really thorough job. Keep them there with you for a while. They won't be arriving until late August I would imagine. Will write fully and at GGGGGreat length within a week or so.

warmest regards

Ross

Here is a copy of the letter we have sent out to all points.

August 29, 1951 ✓

Vancouver
Dear Lillian;

(Whitney)

Received the subs OK. Glad to see that you have got off in a late one at least a very good start. Our campaign down here in Toronto took a big boost last week...through the two rallies we scored a little over 200 points. If we keep that up we will easily make our quota and then some. We haven't found enthusiasm like we did say in 1946 during the strike struggles but we have found a much greater interest than any other year since then. Will be sending you a letter out to everyone in the next day or so if I can manage it.

There are a couple of things I am not too clear in about these subs. According to my figuring you have given us too much money...15 cents.

According to the cards I gather there are 10 six month @.25...	2.50
5 1 yr @.50	2.50
1 at .55cents	.55
	<hr/> 5.55

but you sent us \$5.70. Am I wrong or have you made a slip up? There are a couple of cards I am returning for information. The one to Huber I am not too sure whether it is 4264 or 4269, the more I looked at subs from the same comrades efforts, (I gather it is Court) the less sure I was which it is. The sub for Bothwell has us in a quandry--I know there is an area called Lynnmour but this has a number on it which makes me wonder if there isn't a street of that name and that it is in Vancouver. Did Mrs Oxendale give you .55 as I seem to read it? I am sending the Glover sub back just in case you need the address as I see you have taken on the job of delivering it.

Send me the information on these in your next letter--with your next subs. Thanks for the scoring. I wonder if you could spare the time to send me the very latest within the next few days after you receive this note. We are going to press early next week and I intend to write up a column and I would like the latest and best information possible. Do you want me to use the correct names of comrades or to use pseudonyms.

I am enclosing a letter for Bill from Seattle via N.Y. Tell him I will be dropping him a letter shortly...the P.O. is finally in a position to meet this Sunday and to start to take up some of its work--the holidays are over for everyone so we will all be in attendance..that is except for our two tourists.

The last note I received they were in Edmonton, expecting to get into Trail somewhere around Sept 8 so I suppose you will be seeing them about the 15th. The trip has been a terrific success so far.

comradely

November 2, 1951 ✓

Dear Comrades McDonnell;

Just a note to thank you for the sub for Faulkner.

How have you folks been keeping these days. I would like very much to hear from you, how you find the paper the last few issues, what you are doing and how you see the struggle developing.

I hope our comrades Murray and Barry have managed to meet you. Their tour across the country has been a terrific success. They have been both working in Vancouver for a while repairing their rather thin pocket books. We shoved them out on their own as our financial situation is not too good this year what with rising printing costs, the expenses of our new headquarters etc. But I hope they have managed to get to see you. So far they have had debates at the Stanley Park club and at the SP's Social Science Forum. And I hear that ~~they are arranging~~ the branch is arranging a public meeting for them somewhere around November 13. You certainly must attend. Did you know they are staying at Ruth and Reg Bullocks?

with Revolutionary Greetings

Ross Dowson

November 28, 1951 ✓

papers.
Dear Murray, Barry, Reg;

Myra Tanner Weiss (SWP)

Suprised that you havent written us what gives out there. How about taking some time out. Everyone asks me what is the latest on the tour and what is going on in Vancouver an unfortunately I have little to tell them.

Glad to hear that the meetings was so successful We have had some very good ones here ourselves. I suppose Myra told you about hers...the first real meeting we had in the headquarters. Ray enjoyed it very much and did much to boost our collection up. We had somewhere around 25 persons...as I recall it no new faces. Myra did an excellent job. We had a meeting on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution which was equally successful. Vince came over from Buffalo and this time we had a few contacts down. We finally got Johnny Giscombe down. I picked him up. He was very much impressed. We had an excellent discussion with Paddy Stanton sounding off at great length. At that meeting we had finally managed to get our bookstore open. It casued quite a flurry.

Did you get the pictures I sent. Had the camera down to get the shot of the front for the paper. The inside shots were not sufficiently exposed. Will have to try again. There are a lot of things we have to do to the store but the headquarters otherwise is pretty well finished. It is really a credit to the movement. As soon as we get the financial drive cleared away we are going to have to work on the project of turning it into a real center. The big room is painted green on two walls with the ceiling sweeping over to the other wall in cream. We have two ~~man~~ of those patent picture frames of mine on the wall. One 24X24 with several Diego Rivera pictures, a other 24X 12 with Orocco pictures then our picutre of the old man and the other of the welder by Page Toles. Off to the side is the nationla office. The ceiling and one wall are daffodil yellow with the other walls a peach tone. So far this room is in the worst shape organizationally. Havent had time to strighten everything up but after all is hidden from most eyes. Off the back is the room with the sink. We have palcimized it a light blue, with the celing cream. We have built some shelves to hold the mailing equipment, odds and ends of the Toronto branch property. We made a drain bored up to the sink with shelves for cups etc. We have our old hot-point so we are in a very good position to serve coffee and if we decided to hold a banquet ,even meals. In the middle of this room we have a table with t e mimeograph on it and room for work, typewriter etc. Off that room is the lavatory coloured as Gord G put it like a Mexican whore-house. The walls and ceiling are cream with a half way up the walls in a sort of pink rose paint that I weeded from the landlord. All the floors are green, the painted was supplied by the grace of Shell oil and Harold Scathersed. Off the sink room is another door into our storage room. There we are keeping all the cuts the cahire, the garbage can, brooms, odds and ends of party property. The store ~~man~~ looks very good. We have shelves on two of the walls. The walls and ceiling are painted a light sunlight yellow. The bookcases are painted a light gray. Everything looks very modern but for a table that I picked up from the guy upstairs garbage and and cut down to fit into a place we have for it. We will have to removed the old finish from it and rubb it down when we get a chance. I built a display stand up against the window, one half of which houses a book stand the other half free for lavish displays. It is also gray. as are the slab doors into a side room and into the main hall.

We have now ammassed togetehr a rather extensive stock of books. I havent taken time to tally up the value of it, how much we have outlaid. It must be 200 to 300 dollars. It is quite a varied stock, from Infeld on Einstein, Freud etc but that 's all in the article in the paper. We need to do some work on displaying it but as far as gathering it together we think we have enough. It is quite diversified, it is sizeable, giving a good impression of a bookstore and we feel that there is nothing to be gained in getting more, going more into debt until things start moving. What ever expenditures we make next must be we feel in the realm of advertising, getting the place known. So far we have put small ads in the G.M and

the Star. This morning I took up an ad on the Leon book to put in one of the Jewish papers. The editor asked me for a copy so that they could review it. Next week I thought we would put an ad in the Tely and later one in the Varsity. They are quite expensive and we will have to carry this work on over a long period. We haven't got any book buyers in so far. Aside from one person who said he came from the GM and the rest have been it seems to me passers by. We have sold about 12 Bevan pamphlets, about 6 copies of Who Owns Canada, a couple of Bread or Bombs, several Labor Challenges but no books or none of our own pamphlets. It will obviously take a little while to build the store up as a book shopping center. Unfortunately we are still off the beaten track, we are neither downtown nor are we uptown. We will have to devise some methods of attracting the book buyers.

We are going to get the material for a ping pong table first little money we can scrape together. I suppose we could chargev per game. Haven't used the headquarters for any social affairs yet. There is the liquor problem. Most of the gang think a social would be a flop without it. However once we get the place moving as a bit of a social center I think we should try it out. I was just thinking that ~~when~~ both of you came back from the tour together we could hold a bang up banquet although the room might be a trifle small. The room holds about 28 people quite comfortably and could easily be made to hold 35 I suppose at a public meeting.

~~We are planning a meeting this Sunday on the CCF elections.~~ All our comrades worked hard during the campaign. Jim and Kit were approached by Ramon Parks and his wife (she is an ex-Stalinist) with the proposition of getting some youth they have together for a youth club. Ken probably made the best contact with the St. Davids club...as a matter of fact at various times the Trotskyists outnumbered the CCFers at the committee rooms. Paddy made the place his diggings as did the old man Marriott. Iona Samis was active in this riding. She told Ken she was a Bevanite and urged him to join the club although she obviously knows him to be a Trotskyist. The Packinhouse PAC never came across and it appears we were unable to do anything about hoping it up.

How is the Vancouver financial drive coming along. I hope we will be able to clear it off within the next week for the coming issue of the paper. Our outside the branch campaign here has been crippled somewhat by the CCF work but we are moving after it now. It is hard to say how we will end...very doubtful that we will make the quota for Toronto. Windsor is going to come through as usual. I have written Louis in Montreal to see what can be done there. I hope that we have been able to get a bit of a pile from persons outside the Vancouver branch this year. That big glob in outside points of course was from Hamilton.

There are a bunch of renewal slips heading your way. Not many expirations in Toronto. If we can do so I am going to try and get a few comrades out on sub work, following Ford Brand election signs. ~~There are some more to be done~~ Dick and I went into an area close by here covering houses with vote CCF signs and got 6 subs all told. Managed to sneak off another afternoon myself with a bike. Went up into areas where it would never pay us to do sub door to door work but only managed to get three subs.

Received a letter from Ruth a while back telling me to pull the Vancouver study class ad. Of course we will do so but in her note she gives no suggestion that she knows why I have been running it. Yes I guessed that the class was no longer in operation. I was running it for that reason that we have talked about so much...the need for our paper to carry a Vancouver address. I think that an address is very necessary, particularly when we do so much distributing. Do you think we should get a postal box.

What is the word on the redrafting of the Political Resolution. It would be well if we had the redraft very shortly. ..time is slipping by. And not meaning to push you, I know you have had your hands full what with working, tripping and holding meetings, it would be good if one of you could draw up a report on the CCF there and the meaning as we see it of the entry orientation.

Steve has drawn up a document which he mentions several times will not have Vancouver's approval. He wrote this at the time that he had rejoined the Trail CCF and was raising the matter of our working out an educational program.

MURRAY

DOWSON

Former editor of Labor Challenge, candidate of the
Revolutionary Workers Party for Mayor of Toronto in 1947, now
completing a national tour, will speak on:

THE WAR DANGER
and the
STRUGGLE FOR A SOCIALIST CANADA

Chairman— BARRY BREIT

STEEL HALL

185 EAST 10TH AVENUE, OFF MAIN STREET

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13

CHD

8. P.M.

Auspices of Vancouver Friends of Labor Challenge

Murray did the Steel

November 29, 1951 ✓

Indistinct
Dear Murray, Barry, Reg, and Bill;

I received the minutes of your meeting of the 26th and Barry's note in which he expressed your private opinions that the last minutes in the section dealing with the dispute in the Toronto branch were editorialized ~~inadequately~~. I am rather glad that you expressed this opinion in a personal letter, particularly because it sort of gives me the opening to write a private letter to yourselves.

Of course the minutes are inadequate, it is not enough to record motions if you want opinions from persons outside the center and we certainly do, we need them. However I do not think these minutes were editorialized at this point. It seems to me that your belief that they are flows from further inadequacy in minutes ~~and something else which I~~ ~~cannot say~~. They only appear to be editorial comments because we are looking at the matter from two totally different points of view.

These comments about the situation in the branch are to tell the comrades outside of the meeting that discussed and passed motions just how the problem was viewed by the meeting. Comrade Kelly recorded his opinion in a ~~statement~~ recorded statement, the majority of the PC recorded their opinion of what was involved in these comments. They are obviously inadequate ~~to think~~ from your comment that they are editorializations of the minutes and your comments on the question in your minutes of Nov 26.

The PC ~~has~~ as the PC has taken no stand on this question of the operations of the fractions. It might appear to have done so since as members of the Toronto branch you assume they have taken a stand. But the Toronto branch hasn't taken a stand on the question itself. Hands have been raised there only on associated questions such as how we should proceed. ~~Since the comrades who wished to make the change wished an immediate decision it tends to make those who did not wish~~ ~~to make the change immediately appear to be opposed to the change itself.~~ ~~to make the change immediately appear to be opposed to the change itself.~~ to make the change immediately appear to be opposed to the change itself.

In your discussion of the problem you approach it in a way that ~~was~~ it was never approached in the Toronto branch. You assume that the PC comrades have themselves taken a clear cut stand and that it is based on the belief that the SWP operates in such and such a way. I fully appreciate how you might get that conception but unfortunately you are mistaken in it. Various comrades who spoke in favor of delaying the decision ~~was~~ expressed the opinion that they were not at all sure how the SWP operated its factions and of course how they did would have some pertinence to our problem, but how we operated ~~could~~ couldn't be determined by such a simple measure, it had to be determined by the specific situation here, confronting us.

If you will go back to the minutes which attempt to give you a thumb nail sketch of how we viewed the matter you will see no mention of this matter how the SWP operates or of another point that Barry raised in your minutes...the question of organizational procedure, whether the branch should have contacted the SWP itself or through the PC. These are not even mentioned because although they came up in different discussions it was not on these matters that the PC took action. The PC took action for the very reasons that you say are editorial comments...that is the specific situation in the branch, what developed in the branch as soon as the matter was raised.

While the national convention formally called a halt to the internal differences that developed in the Toronto Branch over a long and hectic fight of three or four years...it did not by any means do away with all the difficulties...it only laid the grounds for a reconciliation. Now no matter how hard everyone ~~tried~~ tried, there are a lot of frayed nerves here.

This very question, who is to vote and who not was Barry will tell a factional issue in the Toronto branch before the convention....a real hot one. It assumed a factional character on this occasion as soon as it hit the branch floor. How it was raised and just whose fault if anyone in particular it was that it became factional you cannot know since you were not there.

The fact for the party to recognize in my opinion is that it did take on a sharp factional character. It was on this basis as I tried to make the minutes reveal to you that the PC intervened. As a matter of fact I quite ~~remember~~ well recall the short speech I made urging that it be taken off the floor by referring it to the PC. If I say so myself it was quite a good one...its line was no matter who is right or who is wrong let's take it off the floor, everyone can see that it is only stirring the old shit up again and there is obviously no emergency, the whole question is only posed in a most formal sense, not developing around some issue where comrades not involved in a situation forced a line on comrades who were involved, etc.

The meeting accepted this proposal...the whole matter was tabled. "here was a tag on the motion to table, "until we get information from the SWP branches."...but the motion was tabled. However this tabling rankled some comrades and there were threats thrown around that the decision would be taken will-nilly. The matter itself of course is a small one as you point out but I think you will agree that it begins to assume the character of something of moment when it threatens to fan up the flames of strife all over again. It was only then that the PC intervened if you may call it that with its recommendation that in the interests of harmony in the branch it should be taken to the internal bulletin.

~~I am not~~ I am going to give you my opinion upon whom we should place the blame that it took on a factional character—as disinterested persons I would assume that at least ~~you must~~ the least we could do is to say well possibly on both sides equally, assuming as one must that all comrades want to forget the past dispute..., but there is one thing that I think should be said. The proposal was never motivated in the branch. The comrade who presented the recommendation for the executive (there was a minority on the executive) only gave the report. Upon further questioning this comrade said "I don't want to be pushed". This comrade was working in the CCF and he meant that he did not want to be pushed by non-CCF members. Hardly a ~~valid~~ ~~reason~~ upon which one can make a decision...in the process of the discussion the SWP question came up. The PC wanted that the question should be motivated free from the factional atmosphere that the sole motivating reason obviously was.

This recommendation of the PC was accepted by the branch...that the matter should go to the internal bulletin. The majority of the branch executive however at the next meeting came down with a sharp attack on this accepted recommendation and passed a motion to the effect that ok but there is to be a statement written by so and so favoring the change and in the same bulletin there must appear in reply to a statement yet unread a contribution from some undesignated person who opposes the recommendation.

I don't like to go into all this detail but it seems to me ~~happy~~ that because you take it upon yourself to commit yourselves on this matter so definitely that it must be given to you.

It is certainly debatable as to whether the course of action taken by the PC was correct but I think you will agree from the above that what you call editorialisation of the minutes is not that at all but your opinion flows from the fact that we looked at the matter from a totally different viewpoint. The PC stand was not one of standing fixed on any organizational principles wasc but was taken as it believed to try to prevent a hot situation from developing in the branch. Maybe it was wrong in its "intervention" but the situation was there. Rightly or wrongly some comrades opposed the recommendation from the executive. Maybe comrade Rose is right that the PC by its course brought discredit upon it. ~~I don't think it is fair to say that it was a mistake to do so.~~
so.

At anyrate here is a situation. We have ven proceeded further to vcommit ourselves to the internal bulletin discussion. At its last meeting the branch accepted the correspondence from the PC which asked the SWP to make its contribution on the basis of information that it would get from the internal bulletin.

Comrade Stein asked the PC how is this matter posed, it is hard to deal with it in the abstract. This posed a ticklish question. Should Ross Dawson answer, who is to say how it is posed. I dont want to be put in the position of presenting this information, I am looked upon unfirtunately as a prejuduced person. The easy and most satisfactory way seemed to me and the majority of the PC to let the SWP read the bulletin, there the matter will be presented in the most non-prejuduced manner, comrade will be careful how they appear in print. Again for various reasons that we havent possibly thought of you may disagree.

^ou see we have gone along quite away...and now we receive your letter in which four of you, and there are only four of us here move(or vote)that the PC should reconsider its decision..(S) to carry the discussion in the party builder . You have sent your opin ons out to two other NC members, to what effect I do not know.

say

A question which you yourselves is only a minor organizational issue is now a burning nationla issue. Reed was quite content that it should go in the internal bulletin...even plessed, he disapproved of Comrade Kelly objection, what has been wrong he said is that Toro to stews in itsown juice . Now you with yourminutes poise the whole question in a different light. ..in a light that it was never discussed and never posed by those immediately involved, only in your own minds.

As far as I see it, and this goes for the majority of the PC the value in taking it to the internal bulletin is to take it off a red hot floor in oronto. The bulletin will be out next week, probably with only the contribution of one of the exectuive majroity, and the branch can take a vote, a clam one I hope. Now even suppossing all the previous actions of the PC have been wrong, what do you propose. I would gather you would want that a letter be sent to the Toronto branch telling them that the N.C. has decided that the PC has been in error in all these moves that the branch acceded to and now suggests that you dont put out the bulletin, scrap it and just take a vote. Well it certainly can be done. But I dont know what is gained. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

This raises a very important point. It seems to me we do have a question posed by you, of the relationship between the PC, the N.C. and the branch. Comrade Rose raised this matter in his submission attached to the last minutes and I thought it was rather absurd. But I see now it really isn't.

I hope you wont think I am being sensitive but I think you comrades have to give the PC some rope. The PC is a functioning body which the N.C. is not. I dont mean that we have to be formal aboutthe matter but there is a difference. The NC can really only be an advisory body.except at a plenum. Of course we have a rather odd position with at this moment four NC members in one spot, as equally able perhaps more able than the four PCNC members in the onter. But the national secreatry and the PC have to act. If they are smart of course they will not act where they think there may be disagreements but they have to be given the latitude. to act. If the PC hadn't acted ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in this instance, possibly the ex-ecutive proposal would have been defeated at that meeting, then again possibly it wouldn't hav have. If it had been defeated maybe those who were defeated would have taken it in good grace, there wouldn't have been any of the old factional crap raised, we in our on the spot position thought not. You say "this intervention, as we see it, can only magnify and sharpen a dispute which from all the infmrtaion at our disposal seemed well on the way to resolution." I dont know what information you are referring to, in the opinion of three NCPC members on the spot this isn't so.

If the PC has discredited itself now, on this occasion it has done so and nothing now done can rein it its lost credit. Your proposal wontwin it back its lost credit. It will only amount to a repudiation of the ~~majority of the~~ PC by the NC and on the basis ~~an~~ my opinion of totally inadequate information. Of course sometimes it might involve such a question of moment that it is necessary for the NC to do this but I hardly think you will be of the opinion that this is such an occasion. I hope that I am not making this appear to be an issue of confidence or non-confidence in the PC....but does it not have certain implications along this line.

I think this whole matter should be reconsidered by you

~~XX~~

While I am at the typewriter and your minutes are before me I wonder if there is not something lacking in your suggestion that I go to the Trotsky school and that we make arrangements immediately. Have you possibly discussed the idea that Murray should not go to Windsor but stay in Toronto. I see that you think Barry should stay there for an indeterminate period. Is Barry going to return to put out the paper. We dont have any real staff here and I hope you appreciate that it is a colossal responsibility and extremely demanding of any comrade. Possibly you havent supplied us with all the information?

comradely

Ross

December 3, 1951✓

Dear Bill,

(Whitney)

Thanks very much for the batch of money order that arrived in this mornings mail.

Just in time so that I good give a good heafy kick at the wolf that has been circling around our door.

Enclosed you will find the receipts along with one or two other items that I have been intending to ship you for a while.

1st---t ere are some slips listing recent expirations in the Vancouver area. These persons were all sent notices last week. To date we have received no renewals from them and if and when any come in via the mail I will let you know. I notice in those last two subs you sent there is one for R.E. Morgan at 5128 Ruby. We already have a sub for Lefty(?) going to 4928 Ruby. Is it the same persons, has he recently moved?

2nd---Last week I took time out to draw up a statement on your book account. Will you add to it the \$35.50 worth of books you took from Murray and apply the 31.00 payment. Does it jive in with your records?

Had to spend the entire day going around seeing various ex-members and sympathizers for contributions to our financial drive so I must not let another moment slip by not working on the paper.

Will write first chance I get.

waremst regards

Ross

Dear Bill;

Just a short note to enclose some receipts and make a few comments.
dont

I see we jib on the Vancouver financial drive receipts—I get 163.60 ~~including the same~~
~~including the same~~ and I see you get 158.80

Here are my stubs ~~Oct 2~~ Barry sent ~~it~~ in ~~for~~ donation from someone

Oct 2	5.00	
Nov 14	52.00	
Dec 5	31.60	—— M.O. for 32.10 but it included .50 for two six month subs.
Dec 10	50.00	
Dec 17	25.00	

163.60

Probably you did not count the \$5 that Barry forwarded, I cant account for my being short .20 cents though. Would you check into it and let me know. Well we did a good job considering all and all. Now we will have to collect our pledges. Next week I will have to get after mine...some fairly big ones

I wonder if you would check Charlie's address for us. I have a C.E. Ross at 744 River Road but Dick says he has moved from there.

Possibly Bill you will be wondering how Vancouver got dragged into the Toronto branch motion to request that the bulletin be dropped. It appears that Joe ~~was there~~ told ~~some of the branch executive members something~~ about the short paragraph in your personal letter to us. When the executive resolution gave as its motives that Vancouver was doing as some of them wanted to do with the fractions I told them they were in error. That you had referred to the IWA fraction which was of no concern in our discussion as we were talking not about a fraction in any given industry but about a expediting body that our branch had set up with seven or eight different union represented in it most with only one member. I went on to tell them that as I remember the letter you said you did not have a CCF fraction as the work involved so much of the branch's efforts, the whole orientation of the branch in fact. Whereas it is motion on votes was in essence changing our expediting body into a fraction ...setting up a formal CCF fraction. I did not have your letter as I did not know that you had mailed a copy to Joe. I had given him none. ~~At the next meeting~~ at the next meeting where the vote was taken to my surprise Joe read a part of your letter. Just the one sentence "Incidentally in the IWA caucus only the members voted." He stopped there, read no more for instance where you continue "In the CCF Fellowship caucus we all considered ourselves members, and although this was not the case in fact we all voted—that is, no caucus meeting was held separate and apart from the Branch meetings—" The first quote has of course nothing to do with the problem we were here discussing. The Second quote is in my opinion in complete opposition to what the comrades desire to set up. The neglect to further your quote is rather surprising but I did not bother to raise it at all. I was rather shocked to the use that a personal letter from you was put.

best holiday greetings

Ross